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The trouble with tenure

The trouble with tenure is that it is supposed to be about the protection of academic freedom but it is mostly about the protection of jobs. The two are not necessarily the same thing. The danger today is that in the confusion of these two aspects of academic tenure both may suffer. The suggestion that tenure can be "bought out", at however great a personal profit to present tenure holders, is bound to undermine the status of tenure as a protection of academic freedom, while the contrary suggestion that tenure is an almost sacrosanct status, not to be affected by the present financial troubles of the universities, may undermine the ability of those threatened with redundancy to protect their jobs or at any rate secure the best possible compensation. The practice of tenure is certainly a secret weapon in the inevitably convoluted struggle between the Government, the University Grants Committee, the universities, and the Association of University Teachers to reduce the number of academic staff, but it is far from clear in which direction it is pointing.

Tenure, of course, was invented to protect those with unpopular views from being dismissed from their university posts as a consequence. It is difficult to believe that such dismissals are a serious possibility in British universities today - or rather that tenure is an adequate defence against the normally more subtle forms of discrimination practised against those with unpopular views. After all, the record seems to show that if a tenured university teacher holds views that are sufficiently unpopular to establish authority, particularly at a time of political stress, his possession of tenure is a feeble protection. It can always be argued that he did not contain his views within the narrowly academic sphere but allowed them to spill over into political action of some kind. Similarly, many teachers with unpopular views find it difficult to get jobs in the first place or, if they have jobs, to secure promotion. Conformity and deference are as much features of a university career as of any other and these unhappily human qualities cannot be wished away by legalistic contracts.

It is only fair to add that Britain has a much better record of intellectual tolerance than most other countries, but there have been enough incidents, the dismissal of Robin Blackburn, the unusual isolation of E. P. Thompson, even the failure of Colin MacCabe to be granted tenure, to suggest that constant vigilance is required even in Britain. Maintaining or reinforcing tenure, however, would be a small and even insignificant contribution to such vigilance because in the really hard cases of political and intellectual discrimination tenure is either irrelevant or is brushed aside. Instead, the case of tenure must depend on its ability to stimulate new thinking and fresh practices within universities which, because of the existence of tenure, can afford to ignore the dead hand of political demands, or public opinion (or economic relevance?). A century or more ago when the prospect seemed to be that the Church might successfully demand that Darwinism be proscribed, perhaps tenure played a valuable and progressive role in this respect. But it is very difficult to believe that this remains so true today. Indeed, there is a strong although not overwhelming case for believing that tenure has the opposite effect. First, at an intellectual level it encourages conservatism because it muffles the messages of external change. This is particularly true in the case of the (perhaps a majority of) disciplines which are primarily concerned with the application of

theoretical knowledge rather than with its discovery. The value of the calm provided by tenure may have a stimulating effect on a philosopher but a soporific effect on the political scientist or the engineer. Secondly, at a practical level, the combination (or, better still, the collision) of the almost universal possession of tenure by university teachers and a 15 per cent decline in university income will mean that, whatever happens about redundancies, virtually no new permanent recruits will come into the academic profession, and that universities will be forced to resort more and more to temporary posts or bought-in teaching hours. Neither result makes much contribution at all to stimulating academic creativity, which is presumably one of the main intentions of academic tenure.

Then, of course, there is the very large question of whether traditional tenure is any longer appropriate for a modern system of higher education, even one as modestly expanded as the British. The very fact that university teachers enjoy this extraordinary privilege while it is denied to teachers in polytechnics and colleges underlines the arbitrariness of this practice. Why not discriminate between tenured and untenured by discipline, or age? Either would be as logical as our present practice. In any case it is absolutely clear that the democratic extension of higher education into continuing education and other Model-E-ish channels is

The AUT's present course is as at least as likely to bust tenure as to bust the bank

hampered rather than stimulated by university-style tenure. There is simply no way in which new needs, which are inevitably tentative and unconventional, can be satisfied if this must be done within the iron framework of a tenured teaching staff. So those who support such an extension of higher education in a populist direction must accept the uncomfortable consequences of their commitment, for tenure and other privileges at present enjoyed by university teachers.

Nothing that has been said so far about tenure in its first role, as a protector of academic freedom and as a stimulator of intellectual creativity and educational change, is necessarily relevant to tenure in its second role, as a defence of the jobs of university teachers faced with the sack. It is this second aspect of tenure which is at the centre of the present debate. After all, the immediate prospect is not of the persecution of a small group of academic deviants but of the forced redundancy of up to 10 per cent of university teachers because their universities can no longer afford to pay their salaries. The first and original aspect of tenure is brought into the present debate partly as a supporting counter, partly as a bargaining chip. But neither use can conceal the central fact that the argument is about jobs, not about freedom. There is nothing disputable or distasteful about this. Jobs and careers, after all, are the girders that hold the academic profession together and it is on this profession that the whole academic enterprise is built. Yet tenure (like promotion prospects, teaching hours, and many other aspects of a university teacher's career) is an extremely difficult question of unusual complexity. This is why the present stark and

Laurie Taylor



Well now... how shall I address you... erm... ladies and gentlemen... erm... colleagues. It's very gratifying to see so many of you here for this planning meeting. It does begin to look as though we might need more than the usual mini-bus for November 18. Shall we get straight down to business? Item one on the agenda: Banners. I know Professor Hartebeeste has had some thoughts on this one.

Yes, I think it pretty important here that we go for something pithy. This isn't just a stylistic consideration; we must bear in mind that we could effect a worthwhile saving by coming up with a phrase which might simply be painted over the old RECTIFY THE ANOMALY banners which are still stored in the Drama Barn. May I therefore propose: MAGGIE THATCHER - TENURE SNATCHER.

Very attractive. Yes, Dr Grannidge? You have another suggestion?

Well, it's a little long perhaps, but I think it does convey the point: LIFETIME SECURITY FOR ALL UNIVERSITY LECTURERS.

Mmm. Yes, as you say it certainly captures the issue. But I wonder if... erm... it would elicit maximum support from the average passerby. Just a slight doubt in my mind there. Yes, Dr Rugbinder?

Very simply: UGC - UGH.

Jolly good. That would certainly look splendid. But I wonder if it might not come across as a little vulgar when chanted in unison.

May I propose: HEY HEY UGC - HOW MANY SACKINGS WILL THERE BE?

Thank you, Professor Trendish. Certainly a nice sixties feel to that one - although perhaps a trifle open-ended. Dr Spandril? What has the English department got for us?

I've just jotted a couple down which operate at rather more than one level: MAKE CERTAIN THAT PARKES BARKS HAVE NO BITE.

And Mr Bob Cryer, Labour MP for Keighley, spoke of Mr Waldegrave's "reputation for cultural achievement", asked if he opposed the "philistine proposals" for Bradford, and called on him to aim to reverse them.

The minister accepted there was a problem over redundancies. "We will have to tackle it when it comes."

He told Mr John Moddle, Conservative MP for Lichfield and Tamworth, that it would be quite wrong to try to direct the University Grants Committee.

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The petition, which has been signed by Sir Peter Strawson, Waynflete professor of metaphysics at Oxford, Sir Karl Popper, and Sir Alfred Ayer, formerly Wykeham professor of logic and visiting professor at Surrey for three years says that the study of philosophy is necessary to any institution claiming the name university, particularly to one promoting scientific studies.

The academic planning group which has made the recommendation admits that the publication record of the department is "outstanding". It also recommends the closure of the department of the economics, a subject pioneered by Surrey.

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Way cleared for national body

by John O'Leary

Local authority leaders yesterday cleared the way for the establishment of a national body to take a last temporary control of funds for polytechnics and colleges of higher education. Officers will meet Mr William Waldegrave, under-secretary for higher education, next week to agree the final details.

The new body is likely to meet for the first time early in the New Year, but both civil servants and local authority representatives have accepted that it is unlikely to be able to influence the distribution of the Advanced Further Education Pool for 1982-3.

A special meeting of the Council of Local Education Authorities yesterday, was recommended to accept the interim arrangements in principle, leaving officers to settle details. The formal establishment of the "short term machinery" will be signalled in a letter signed jointly by Mr Waldegrave and Mrs Nicky Harrison, chairman of CLEA.

Further meetings of officials have modified the original Department of Education and Science proposals for the interim arrangements. Although the central secretariat will still be small at the outset, it is likely that the local authority side will provide two senior administrators to work with the one civil servant proposed by the DES. There would also be three or four extra support staff.

The new body is likely to be based on "neutral territory" outside the DES but in central London. Staff would be seconded to it at least until the fate of the permanent arrangements outlined in the Government's Green Paper was decided.

The two sides have also agreed that there should be an advisory sub-structure to deal with academic questions, established initially on an ad hoc basis but making use of expertise available within the Council for National Academic Awards and Her Majesty's Inspectorate.

Although the two-tier arrangement, headed by a group chaired by a minister and meeting irregularly, remains closer to the CLEA model outlined in the Green Paper than that favoured by the DES, it has been accepted that only a limited number of institutions will be included at first. Regional machinery would be grafted on to the body when it was fully operational.

Both sides have agreed to restrict discussions on the machinery as far as possible in the interests of speed. But certain fundamental issues remain to be resolved, notably the full membership of the main body.

This is likely to be restricted to local and central government representatives, despite determined claims from polytechnic directors, college principals, the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education and the Council for National Academic Awards. Only the CNAA's request is likely to be received sympathetically, the remainder possibly being offered seats on the board of officials, which will meet regularly to make recommendations.

Such an offer is unlikely to satisfy the organizations concerned. Mr Neil Merritt, chairman of the college principals' group, the Standing Conference, told a conference this week that the main body would never be as effective as it could be without the managers of the institutions. "It would be a grave mistake not to take the opportunity to involve the institutions when there is a degree of goodwill around regarding the DES initiative," he said.

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Waldegrave under fire over UGC cuts policy

by Ngalo Crequer and David Jobbins

The new team of ministers at the Department of Education faced criticism in the Commons this week over the treatment of the technological universities.

MPs from the three main political parties expressed anxiety about the fate of Aston, Salford and Bradford. Mr William Waldegrave, under secretary with responsibility for higher education remained sympathetic but unmoved.

In his first appearance at the Dispatch Box, he admitted that the cuts were having a real effect. "No-one would want to deny this, but when the resources applied to all public programmes have to be limited, not even the most valuable can be wholly protected."

Labour MPs tried to exploit the belief that Mr Waldegrave was serious in his step with other ministers. Opposition spokesman Mr Phillip Whitehead pointed to the £250m redundancy bill for academics and called on the new minister to say whether he thought the Government should think again.

And Mr Bob Cryer, Labour MP for Keighley, spoke of Mr Waldegrave's "reputation for cultural achievement", asked if he opposed the "philistine proposals" for Bradford, and called on him to aim to reverse them.

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Architecture student Roger Keay brews up after a testing night in a survival tent he designed and built for £10. The annual foray into the forest by first-years at Leicester Polytechnic provides their first opportunity to undertake a project they have to live with.

Rise threatens awards

An unexpectedly sharp increase in the number of enrolments for full-time courses in further and higher education last year is likely to confirm ministers in their determination to make savings on student numbers. Final statistics for 1980-81 show an overall decline of 6 per cent in student numbers but this is almost entirely due to cuts in adult education and a 19 per cent drop in recruitment from abroad.

The position is reversed for full-time courses, with the total of British students rising for the first time for several years. Numbers rose by 5 per cent, from 450,000 to 472,000.

Although the 2 per cent increase on advanced courses equates with the rise in spending on student awards allowed for in this year's Expenditure White Paper, the overall rise is likely to frustrate future plans.

The White Paper allocated a drop of £3m this year and only a temporary increase for 1982-3.

The latest policy option designed to curb spending on mandatory awards was greeted with disappointment by student leaders.

Government officials are understood to have revived plans for students to be based at their parents' homes whenever possible. Only where courses were not available at a local college, or the travelling was too difficult would study elsewhere be permitted.

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SSRC fights postgraduate sanctions

by Paul Flather

Proposals to penalise universities with unacceptably low postgraduate completion rates are to be opposed by the Social Science Research Council.

The SSRC's postgraduate training board has come out largely in favour of a report from the Advisory Board for the Research Councils on postgraduate education, but disagrees on sanctions on quota awards to universities.

The report is the result of more than two years' work by a committee chaired by Sir Peter Swinnerton-Dyer. It recommends that both the SSRC and the Science and Engineering Research Council should publish completion rates of postgraduates, and there should be sanctions against universities with "unacceptably low" rates.

The council's annual report published this week calls for substantial taught elements in certain training programmes with much less emphasis on original inquiry, and all PhDs to include basic provision on research methods and techniques.

This might lead to a new form of PhD, says the report, similar to the American model with between 12 to 18 months of taught instruction, followed by 18 months of research on one or two related topics.

The training board also recommends a system of post-doctoral fellowships to allow students of high promise to do further research.

Sir James Dunnitt, chairman of the ABRC, said the council was taking very seriously criticism about completion rates. "The report is a balanced review of the subject, and we cannot afford to turn a blind eye to low completion."

The report is to be discussed by the Science and Engineering Research Council at the next meeting of its postgraduate training committee on November 9.

One of Mr Fowler's priorities will be to wrestle with the public sector cash allocation which is expected to be announced in early December. Use of the more equitable unit cost system worked out by the Stephen Jones committee is likely to act against the interests of NELP, which with its expensive operation has long been at the top of the league of high cost institutions.

He is facing NELP's divided and troubled history with equanimity. "There's clearly a difficulty again stemming from a multi-site operation in producing total unity of mind and purpose in so diverse an institution," he said.

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Just as it is

Poly staff take the strain of job cuts

by Charlotte Barry

Voluntary redundancies in polytechnics and colleges are leading to increased workloads and causing severe problems for the remaining academic staff.

At Hatfield Polytechnic the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education is so concerned about overloading it has issued a questionnaire among lecturers to discover the extent of the problems.

The Hatfield example may illustrate the inevitable consequence of the 19 per cent cut in lecturers in advanced further education being sought by the Government. The Department of Education and Science wants the 27,800 advanced further education lecturers employed in January this year reduced from 5,800 to 22,500 in 1983-84.

Mr Peter Dawson, general secretary of NAFHE said this week: "Hatfield would appear to be a perfect example of the effects of indiscriminate cuts in the system we have been fearing."

Over the summer at Hatfield Polytechnic there have been 26 voluntary redundancies through the premature retirement compensation scheme. A further 16 teaching posts which fell vacant through natural

wastage will not be filled until January.

Among the early retirements, 16 were in the engineering faculty involving a 20 per cent staff loss. In areas under severe pressure temporary part-time lecturers have been appointed, with the reluctant agreement of the union.

Although NAFHE insisted that the posts were advertised, there were so few applications in some engineering subjects that four of the lecturers who took PRC have been rehired on temporary contracts.

Mr Paul Turner, chairman of the NAFHE co-ordinating committee, said: "We made it clear that we were very unhappy about the principle, but didn't oppose this one because of the situation in the polytechnic."

Indications that 1,000 or more college lecturers were leaving the service through voluntary redundancy over the past year cannot be substantiated. Firm examples are at Middlesex Polytechnic where 72 lecturers and 48 non-teaching staff have been shed this way, at North East London Polytechnic and at Huddersfield which lost 75 teaching posts as natural wastage over the summer.

Local authority leaders have advised ministers that the total planned cut can be achieved only through compulsory redundancies.

Students take Aston to court

by David Jobbins

Aston University faces legal action from two students who had accepted unconditional offers for courses which were closed only weeks before they were due to start.

A county court summons alleging the university was in breach of contract was being taken out this week, the National Union of Students, said.

The union is backing the students, Amanda O'Brien and Clare Casson, who have accepted places on other courses.

"We are not prepared to have students pushed around like this," said NUS president Mr David Aaronovitch. "I accept this action is not going to get the courses reinstated but it may make other universities think again before they steamroller people into this kind of decision."

The action, which will be heard at Birmingham County Court, will test whether an unconditional offer for a place on a specific course is a legally binding contract. Other vice chancellors will be watching the outcome closely.

Both students say there were told the courses had been cancelled too late to make alternative plans.

Amanda, 26, was offered a place to read human communications, and had already turned down a similar course at Warwick, obtained a flat and put her two-year-old daughter Kate into a local creche.

"We were told this course was not going to run at the end of August,"



Fighting talk: NUS President David Aaronovitch discusses the case against Aston University with Clare Casson (centre) and Amanda O'Brien.

she said. It was too late to leave and get somewhere else. Kate desperately needed stability after the family breakdown."

Clare, 19, who had accepted a firm offer to read behavioural science, was abroad when the course was discontinued. "My father opted for combined honours on my behalf. When I returned I decided I did not want to do that." She is now reading

human psychology.

Eight students dropped out when told that the human communications and behavioural science courses were dropped. More than half the students holding firm offers opted for alternative courses.

The students have applied for legal aid and the NUS has decided to finance the case if their applications are refused.

1,000 biotech graduates needed in next decade

by Science Correspondent

Five thousand graduates and technicians will be required by Britain over the next ten years if the country is properly to exploit the industrial potential of biotechnology - the application of biological organisms in manufacture.

In a report to be published next month, the Royal Society states that "highly skilled manpower will need to increase substantially in certain limited fields." The document, *Biotechnology and Education*, says there will be a need for a turnover of 1,000 graduate biotechnologists over the next ten years and about four times that number of technicians and technical support staff.

But "these figures take no account of possible wastage in a brain drain to continental Europe and the US," there are some indications that this might be serious," the reports says. In general, undergraduate education for biotechnology should be based on existing biology and chemical engineering courses - with greater cooperation being developed between both sets of departments. This should be done in preference to setting up new biotechnology courses or expanding existing MSC courses in biotechnology.

"There is a need to focus effort and enhance cooperation between individual universities, polytechnics, departments and industry," the report says. "Three-year full-time

courses with a postgraduate conversion course, or a four-year course with more practical work and including a sandwich element, is best suited to meeting the needs for biotechnology."

The Royal Society working party also argues that the University Grants Committee give "urgent attention" to the possibility of setting up 20 new lecturer posts in biotechnology - "if necessary by selective allocation of funds and compensatory reductions in resources to other subjects."

The report suggests that the importance of biotechnology should be explained at schools but not taught as a separate subject. "For biotechnology, in particular, a broad scientific and technological education is required. This should encompass some development of sound judgment on economic, commercial and social factors in the creation of new products and processes. The present operation of the secondary school system in England and Wales militates against these objectives. The more broadly based curriculum in Scotland is rather better."

A second important development in the fields of biotechnology and education takes place today with the launch of the Science and Engineering Research Council's biotechnology directorate. Headed by Dr Geoffrey Potter, the directorate will eventually have more than £2m a year to spend to promote research.

Sponsors round on DES

by Patricia Santinelli

Sponsors of the London based Teachers' Education Advisory Committee will blame the Department of Education and Science if the unit is forced to close next year through lack of funds.

This follows the latest of a series of meetings between DES officials and the sponsors - the Institute of Education, the Council for National Academic Awards, the University of Sussex and the London Regional Advisory Council.

The DES officials made it clear that funds for the continuation of the unit were unlikely to be forthcoming and that closure in March would be entirely the responsibility of the sponsors.

But the sponsors said this was completely unsatisfactory, since earlier discussions, as well as a letter from Dr Rhodes Boyson had implied that the future of TEAC would be seen in a favourable light once arrangements for national and re-

gional coordination became clear.

They stressed that they would have no hesitation in linking the closure of the unit with the department's decision. They are now awaiting a letter from the DES, after which they may seek a meeting with the Secretary of State for Education to reiterate their position and intentions.

The life of TEAC, which was originally set up for two years, has already been extended twice. It came into being after the second wave of teacher training rationalization to fill a vacuum created by the loss of area training organizations.

The sponsors believe they have shown sufficient patience and that to continue the committee's life with DES funding is unviable and would result in a loss of credibility.

Ironically, TEAC which services the South East and deals on a regional basis with 25 institutions, has proved to be the model for smaller similar bodies now springing up in other regions.

CBI demands bigger say on planning

by John O'Leary

The Confederation of British Industry is to seek closer involvement in the planning of higher education as a result of dissatisfaction with developments on both sides of the binary line.

Industrialists want more regular and detailed discussions with the University Grants Committee and representation on a national body to administer funds to polytechnics and colleges. They have already told Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education, of their concern over the proposed composition of a temporary body.

The CBI is also hoping to set up its own network of regional groups to foster contact between industry and universities. Two regions have already made preliminary contact with universities and it is hoped that they will serve as pilot projects.

General discussions were held with the UGC before the university cuts were decided but the CBI is anxious to put consultation on a more formal basis. The request will stop short of membership of the UGC but Mr Michael Bury, head of education and training at the confederation, said: "The CBI will almost certainly be wanting to have much closer relationship in future."

The issue will be discussed at next month's meeting of the CBI council, which will decide the confederation's response to the Green Paper on plans for a national body. The council will be recommended to favour the Department of Education and Science option of centralised control and to press for representation on any temporary body.

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MPs call for details on cuts

by Ngao Crequer

The Commons Select Committee on Education has asked the University Grants Committee for more information about how it made its cuts, particularly how it judged quality in the universities.

It also wants to know what progress has been made with the Government on redundancy payments for university staff, what happens if universities exceed student target numbers, whether they will be compensated for inflation and, in the event of more cuts, whether the committee would stick to the same selectivity strategy.

The UGC was meeting this week to form its replies but Dr Edward Parkes, the chairman, has already told MPs he cannot answer questions about the financial spectrum presented to the UGC by the Government in 1979, or say what his opinion then was of the options open. This constituted confidential advice to the Government.

The select committee has asked for the information to be ready before it questions Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Education, about university funding, on November 11.

The committee has also released a copy of a letter sent to Mr Michael Carlisle, the former minister, in July in which it said it was alarmed at concerns about what the UGC told vice chancellors had told them about the effect of the cuts.

The MPs found it "extraordinary" that the Government had not foreseen the effects of its policy, in that some universities might be forced into bankruptcy, and were "absolutely critical" that the Government should make more funds available. In reply, Mr Carlisle said he was aware of the UGC's view on the number of redundancies required, and of the cost of compensation for lecturers and he was studying the vice chancellors' legal opinion with his own legal advice.

Bradford College has reconstructed some courses to allow students to study less than 21 hours a week, and so be eligible for unemployment benefit. College staff have also met the local authority to try to help the 100 or so students who this year started full-time courses but have been told there is no money for their grants.

Mr George Buckton, Secretary of the Association of Student Counsellors, said students were finding themselves worse off as money for discretionary awards dried up and costs such as student lodgings rose, yet counsellors could do nothing about financial problems (TES)

Mr Crowther said student poverty

had been made worse by higher unemployment and the recession, which cut parental support for many students; by the cutback in the amount of money available for local authority grants; and by the failure of grants to keep pace with inflation.

More students on breadline

More and more further education students are living on the breadline because of education cuts and the economic recession. Bradford College reports an increasing number of cases of acute poverty.

Mr Roger Crowther, head of the college's student services, said he saw 50 students facing financial hardship within the first fortnight of term. "The situation is far worse than the previous four years that I have been in this college," he said.

The effects of hardship were generalized anxiety and depression, trying to follow courses without proper books and equipment, poorly clothed students and those who obviously were not eating properly.

Worst hit were the growing number of students on intermediate awards, who only had their tuition fees paid, and a small amount towards books and equipment.

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had been made worse by higher unemployment and the recession, which cut parental support for many students; by the cutback in the amount of money available for local authority grants; and by the failure of grants to keep pace with inflation.

Bleak forecast for colleges

by John O'Leary

The majority of colleges and institutes of higher education will either close or merge with larger institutions in the next five years, Mr Neil Merritt, chairman of the college principals' group forecast this week.

Mr Merritt told a conference of the colleges' Learning Resources Group that he expected 95 per cent of public sector higher education to be concentrated in 50 or 60 institutions, all known as polytechnics, by 1986. They would be under the aegis of a national body comprising civil servants, local authority representatives, managers of institutions and a small number of industrialists and trade unionists.

Mergers and federations would cut the number of institutions from the 50 he expected to see under the

national body in its initial form. The smaller colleges might not survive in their present form, Mr Merritt said, although teacher training as a whole would be handled by regional consortia of local authorities and not the national body.

He foresaw links between the body and the University Grants Committee through a co-ordinating committee planning course developments across the binary line. In the public sector, institutions would retain their association with local authorities but would probably have corporate status on the model of the inner London polytechnics. Local authorities would exert their influence through increased representation on governing bodies.

The period between 1978 and 1981 would come to be seen as a time of missed opportunity while the public

sector was embroiled in argument over organization rather than contributing to the economic well-being of the nation, Mr Merritt said. But the new body, which would also incorporate the voluntary colleges, would vigorously protect the public sector and become as strong as the UGC.

On a less optimistic note, Mr Merritt predicted steadily worsening staff/student ratios as the polytechnics tried to cope with increasing demand for higher education in circumstances of continuing financial stringency. By 1986, the ratio would be nearer 15:1 than the present 10:1.

The result, he feared, would be a new wave of student unrest similar to that in the late 1960s. Larger classes would breed dissatisfaction and produce an unprecedented level of disturbance on campuses.

CNAA praises Glasgow

Glasgow College of Technology, subject of a highly critical report from the Council for National Academic Awards 18 months ago, has been praised by the council's chief officer for its new "confidence and clarity of objectives."

Dr Edwin Kerr headed a monitoring team checking on the college's progress, and although it will be some time before the CNAA will publish its report on its findings, it is clear the team is pleased with the college's efforts to implement a more democratic academic structure.

Before the CNAA's last visit, it was lobbied by staff alleging the college was run in an authoritarian and undemocratic way. The council also received a statement of dissatisfaction from elected members of the college's academic board.

Neither staff nor the CNAA have at any point criticized the college's academic standards, and last year four new degree courses were established.

But the council's report said the college's director Dr Reginald Beale, had interpreted the constitution as placing on himself the onus for making major decisions, and this had resulted in a marked tendency to strengthen the executive function of the directorate, with a corresponding reluctance to develop the college's academic structure.

The visiting team has welcomed a new constitution which took effect in October giving the college council, the college's governing body, "substantial direct powers."



A three-year research project at Loughborough University is to monitor the effects of a sport and recreation scheme on which the young unemployed train for a wide variety of activities including basketball, trampolining, and rock climbing. Above a parachutist - one of the first group to be trained - lands on target at an airfield near Peterborough.

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Nuclear research in balance

by Robin McKie

Confusion still surrounds the likely outcome of today's meeting of the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN) at which the future of European nuclear physics research for the next ten years was expected to be finally resolved.

The crucial go-ahead for CERN's £270m large electron-positron (LEP) project, a 19-mile circumference particle collider to be drilled below the Jura mountains near Geneva, may be further delayed because both the Norwegian and Swedish delegations may refuse to give their full approval to the project.

At a CERN meeting earlier this year, four countries refused to give full commitments to the project which is expected to undertake crucial research in hunting for the quark, the tiny particle suspected to be the basic building unit of matter. Since then, Holland and Denmark have given official approval to LEP, while Norway and Sweden have agreed to the project only in principle.

As LEP is to be constructed within CERN's existing budget - to which Britain paid £25m in 1979-80 - only

a two-thirds majority of the organization's 12 members is required, although it is expected unanimous support will be achieved in the end.

When its first stage is completed around 1986-87, LEP will be used to collide beams of electrons with beams of oppositely charged positrons and from the resulting nuclear debris scientists will seek evidence of the activities of the quark which have still to be directly observed by researchers.

To make way for LEP within CERN's present £160m budget, several major machines at its Geneva site are to be closed and after 1987 several more advanced stages of LEP are scheduled. These will allow scientists to collide beams at greater and greater energies, revealing increasing information about quarks.

After that, in the 1990s, various plans are being considered including one ambitious move to smash electron beams from LEP against proton beams from CERN's newly converted Super Proton Synchrotron. This may reveal information about still unnamed particles which many scientists now suspect form the building blocks of quarks themselves.

Queen's launches £1½m appeal

Queen's University, Belfast launches an appeal next week for £1,500,000 for facilities for the university to help the community.

The Ulster Bank and the Northern Bank are each expected to announce a donation of £150,000.

The appeal is to raise cash for an industrial liaison and development centre, the development of vocationally orientated courses, travel funds, visiting professorships and student accommodation.

Anger over 22% rise in Open University fees

by Charlotte Barry

A storm of protest erupted at the Open University this week following the Government announcement that undergraduate fees are to rise by a further 22 per cent.

The new level of £120 for a full credit course means that fees paid by the OU's 75,000 students have increased by a total of 79 per cent in the last two years.

The latest rise, announced in the House of Commons by under secretary of state for education Mr William Waldegrave, was immediately condemned by the Open University Students' Association and the university itself.

A university spokesman said its degrees were becoming restricted only to those who could pay out of their own pockets, as most of its students do not receive grants.

The students' association said the Government's move discriminated against the unemployed, those with families, on shift work or without a local university to go to. It was also forcing the OU to price itself out of reach of the average wage earner.

People studying for an honours degree lasting six or seven years would now have to find a total of £1,100 in course and summer school

fees, plus an extra £600 for books, travel and other expenses. Science and technology students with more than two compulsory summer schools would pay at least £1,800.

The increase comes within weeks of the University Grants Committee introducing a uniform policy of part-time fees in traditional universities. These now average half those at the Open University and total about £700 for a degree spread over four or five years. At some polytechnics the cost would be as little as £500.

OU student president Ms Pam McNay said: "It is ironic that the OU which has pioneered distance learning and demonstrated it is more cost-effective than a conventional university must now charge its students at twice the rate."

She said that the effects of last year's fee increase of 47 per cent had resulted in a regional shift with fewer students being drawn from areas of high unemployment. "We're in danger of becoming the Closed University of the South-East," she said.

Ms McNay added that the pattern of fees for part-time students was clearly in a mess, and this strengthened the arguments for mandatory grants to be extended to all part-time students.

Social science group approved

Plans to create a prestigious association for social sciences have been given approval in a report being circulated among senior social scientists.

The Association of Learned Societies in the Social Sciences, the title recommended in the report, would have a prominent political role in defending and promoting social sciences research.

The report comes from an eight-member working party headed by Professor John Eldridge, professor of sociology at Glasgow University, set up last June after a meeting in London attended by representatives from more than 20 societies.

The report suggests four main tasks for the new association:

- to establish a newsletter embracing all societies inside the association
- to provide evidence on matters affecting the education, training, and research of social scientists to national bodies like the University Grants Committee, and the Social Science Research Council

● to offer informed judgments on policies affecting social sciences before and after their implementation

● to promote the social sciences by subject or collectively through lectures, working groups, and symposia.

The report recommends a two-tier structure with each member society nominating two members to a governing council, from which a smaller executive would be elected. The chair would rotate between the societies.

It does not go into funding details but recommends a small levy on each society.

The recommendations and comments from individual societies to be sent in before November 21, will be discussed at a meeting of the Eldridge working party in December.

The association would fill a vacuum felt by many social scientists who see influential bodies like the Royal Society and the British Academy as defending the interests of the natural sciences and the arts.

How close to collapse are some hospitals? What are Norman Fowler's priorities? Does unemployment kill? What cancers happen where? What is Reagan doing to health? And how healthy are the Russians? Can nurse-practitioners replace doctors? Who is re-organizing the re-organizers? Does the S.D.P. have a health policy? Are charities wasting money on body scanners? How would Enoch Powell run the health service now? Do doctors ignore research? Is malnutrition still a British problem? What is Ralph Nader's advice to patients? Who's winning the butter battle? What are the drug companies really doing in the third world...?

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Aberdeen principal warns of bankruptcy

by Olga Wojtas

Scottish Correspondent

The principal of Aberdeen University has warned that compulsory redundancies seem inevitable and that the university itself may face bankruptcy.

Dr George McNicol, who took up the post of principal at the beginning of October, was addressing a senate meeting discussing how the cuts imposed by the University Grants Committee might be implemented. Aberdeen is the second worst hit of the Scottish universities, with a cut in its recurrent grant of 22 per cent.

By the end of this year, warned the principal, Aberdeen will have a deficit of £2m and the interest charges will be "equivalent to the necessary economies are delayed."

This deficit would not be permitted to run on, he said, and despite being supported by the Government for around two thirds of its costs, Aberdeen was still a private corporation which could go bankrupt.

Compulsory redundancy, Dr McNicol stressed, was not a primary part of the university's planning committee's search for savings, but it

would make no sense "to run away from the inevitable."

Each month a decision was postponed could lead to the eventual loss of several more staff members, said the principal. It has already been mooted that there might be 300 university jobs lost, a hundred of them academic.

Criticizing the cuts as "mindless and destructive", the principal said no effort would be spared to "set out the wisdom of our political masters."

Dr McNicol is to meet Dr Edward Parkes, chairman of the UGC, in two weeks, and has invited higher education minister, Mr Wil-

liam Waldegrave to visit Aberdeen. The principal said he was also writing to the Scottish Secretary to warn him of the consequences of the university's medical cuts for the local community, and the impact of the withdrawal of £5m annually from the local economy.

As a result of the present financial crisis, Aberdeen's history department has organized a series of seminars on the history of universities, with special emphasis on problems of academic freedom and relations with governments.

News in brief

Lenin the winner

The Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize for 1981 has been awarded to Dr Neil Harding, lecturer in politics and Russian studies at University College, Swansea, for his book *Lenin's Political Thought*, published by Macmillan. Last year's winner, Mr R. E. Rowthorn, of Cambridge University, will be delivering the Isaac Deutscher Memorial Lecture on "Britain's Crisis - the Prospects for the Left" at the London School of Economics on November 26.

Just the ticket

An anonymous donor has provided £300 for 60 tickets for unemployed art graduates and dismissed part-time art lecturers to attend a two-day conference on the future of art education starting on November 7 at Imperial College, London.

Nuclear strategy

Fewer than one in five of Britain's students believe the West's military strategy will avert a nuclear war, according to a survey in *National Student*. Only 49 per cent, many of them science students, would wish to survive a nuclear holocaust within 43.5 per cent of those questioned believe it is inevitable by the year 2000. Support for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is predictably high (66 per cent) and 86 per cent thought that possession of nuclear weapons made a nuclear attack more likely or made no difference.

Welcome umbrella

An umbrella organization for whom representing two million teachers in Europe has been welcomed by Mr Ivor Richard, the EEC commissioner for training.

The European Trade Union Committee for Education brings together unions affiliated to the three international teacher organizations, including the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education. "For the first time we will now have one body with whom to conduct business," said Mr Richard.

Change of scene

Validation of drama in education awards is to be taken over by the Royal Society of Arts, it was announced this week by the Department of Education and Science. This role was formerly carried out by the Drama Board which is closing because of financial difficulties.

The new arrangements mean that students who would have been eligible for a extra salary will continue to be so in satisfaction of completion of courses. These will now lead to the Royal Society of Arts Teachers' Certificate in Drama for Education.

Engineering boost

The Minister of State for Higher Education, Mr William Waldegrave, has given the go-ahead for a full-time BSc engineering degree to be run at Hull College of Higher Education. The new degree, which is supported by local industry, is expected to enrol its first students in September 1982, subject to approval by the Council for National Academic Awards, and will cover electrical, electrical and mechanical engineering.

Russia studied

A five-day international symposium on Soviet education in the 1980s is to be held at London University's School of Slavonic and East European Studies next July. The symposium, which is being sponsored by the Volkswagenwerk Foundation, will examine the central features of the Soviet educational system, its demands for changes in objectives, its administration and its content and methods of teaching. Details will be obtained from Mr J. J. Tominak, lecturer in Russian and Soviet education in Senate House, Malet Street, London.

Natural science loses out on cash

by Robin McKie

Science Correspondent

Research grants awarded by the Natural Environment Research Council dropped by more than £750,000 last year - a reduction of almost 20 per cent on the previous year.

These figures are revealed in the NERC's annual report, published this week, which states that the council received 340 grant applications in 1980 seeking a total of £8,589,000. Of these 166 were awarded, involving a commitment of £3,194,000 which compares with a commitment of £3,995,000 in 1979-80.

However, the NERC report argues that the two totals are not comparable. "The figures for last year were enhanced by large quinquennial applications for the funding of continuing research in geochronology and isotope geology and the replacement of obsolete mass-spectrometers and X-ray fluorescent analysers," the report adds.

Nevertheless, the economic future for the council is not going to be easy, the NERC's chairman, Sir Herbert Bondi, warns in his introduction to the report, although in general he predicts an optimistic future for his activities. "No doubt we have our current economic difficulties; no doubt there are great worries about the immediate future; but at every moment we should view the prospect in the light of the fact that the central importance of our sciences is great and growing and will increasingly be recognized as such."

The report also reveals that in 1979-80, the council carried out a

comprehensive review of its advanced course studentships. As a result, the NERC decided to modify the present system and its interaction with the council's research studentships.

"It was decided that when assessing the period of tenure for research studentships for applicants who had already undertaken a period of postgraduate training, the rule that permits a candidate to 'convert' without penalty from the field in which he or she initially graduated should be applied with a greater degree of latitude than in the past. It was also decided that the duration of a research studentship should not be reduced in respect of previous postgraduate training undertaken at private expense."

The council also decided last year to abolish its appeals procedure for advanced courses in the life sciences but to retain it for courses in the physical sciences.

New postgraduate awards were one less than the last year - 299 compared with 301. There were 197 advanced course studentships - the same as last year.

And a review of former award holders by the NERC traced 272 research students. Of these 227 were in employment, 31 were still completing their theses and 14 were unemployed. "Of those who have entered employment, 48 per cent were employed at academic institutions, 14 per cent in research institutes and the public sector, 27 per cent in industry and commerce and the balance mainly in school teaching or undertaking further postgraduate training."

Scots institute campaigns to revitalize adult provision

by Olga Wojtas

Scottish Correspondent

The Scottish Institute of Adult Education has called for new legislation clarifying the type and extent of provision to be made by central and local government for adult education.

The institute has just launched a major campaign to increase public awareness of the educational needs of adults in Scotland, and at a conference in Edinburgh this week proposed a statement, "The Right to Learn".

Present Acts do not mention adult education, says the SIAE, and makes a distinction between vocational and non-vocational education which it says is inappropriate for a wide range of new programmes such as literacy and basic education, trade union, women's, and health education.

The institute questions whether the Scottish Education Department should be responsible for national policy on adult education, and points out that there have been suggestions that a new central agency should be established. It sees the Edinburgh meeting as the start of widespread discussion and policy formulation which will eventually be debated in Parliament.

The institute has called on all Scottish regional councils to make a local review of their adult education provision, and for all education authorities to establish councils for adult and continuing education.

Status of training plan queried

by Patricia Santinelli

Careers counsellors have asked the government if its latest training scheme for the young unemployed is to be voluntary or compulsory.

The Institute for Careers Education and Counselling says that it is not clear in the Manpower Services Commission's consultative document, *The New Training Initiative*, whether young people will have the choice between entering a programme of vocational preparation or seeking a job.

"If such a choice did not exist then the proposed development would be rejected by young people. Therefore any future policy statement must spell out very clearly that it is concerned with widening the range of opportunities rather than with further restricting them."

The proposals assume sufficient paid employment in the future for all who want it, says the institute. This is over-optimistic and might result in training structures which do not lend to jobs losing their credibility.

"We would like to see an explicit recognition that the new training initiative can only be a component of a comprehensive employment policy, and is not an adequate substitute for such a policy," the institute says.

The Schools Council argues that the proposed training will only be achieved with legislation.

"It will need imaginative new mixes of education, training and work preparation, based on radically different relations between the potential contributors," the council says.

OU fails to come up with courses

by Charlotte Barry

Three undergraduate courses due to be introduced by the Open University in 1983 have been delayed for a year.

News of the postponement has angered the OU Students' Association which says it will cause serious problems for undergraduates intending to take one or more of these courses to complete their degree.

Two of the delayed courses, "Understanding complex decisions" and "Electronics signals processing" are in the technology faculty. The third, the remake of "Earth's physical resources" is in the science faculty.

Mr Andrew Spackman, the OU's assistant secretary for technology,

agreed that the faculty was behind in its course production. He said that science and technology staff had difficulty in producing courses as quickly as their colleagues in arts and social sciences because of the complexity of the subject, and the lack of manpower.

"They don't have complicated home experiment kits and summer schools," he explained. "We are trying to do a task for which we haven't the manpower, as the science and technology faculties have not been allocated the number of staff they know are needed to complete the full range of courses."

Originally it was hoped that the OU would achieve its quota of undergraduate courses by 1984, but

this will now be impossible in spite of the fact that arts, social sciences, educational studies and maths have all met or achieved their share of the total.

Ms Pam McNay, OUSA president, said: "This will create serious problems for students who wanted to include these courses in a coherent degree plan, particularly those nearing the end of their studies."

"Although I appreciate that unforeseen problems can arise, the university does have 11 years' experience of course production and this sort of thing should not still be happening. Students have to meet their cut-off dates or pay the penalty, so maybe we should be harder on course teams who fail to meet theirs."

Part-timers' status claim shelved

by David Jobbins

A demand for associate lecturer status for staff teaching part-time in more than one college has been shelved, at least for this year.

The claim would have given part-timers working for a total of 13 hours or more in more than one institution the greater security of tenure and other fringe benefits won by staff under last October's national agreement.

But after failure to agree a compromise with the employers' side, union leaders accepted that the issue should be referred to the working party examining the whole further education pay structure.

Management officials have already indicated that the local authorities are unlikely to be able to finance changes within the 4 per cent cash limit set by Government, and anyway will not be putting forward their full agenda for change before the end of the year.

Coupled with the probability that the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education will today decide to submit its pay claim in December in line with other teacher unions, the net effect is to postpone the possibility of implementing any final agreement on aggregation in the next pay round.

Natfhe officials had put forward several suggestions for compromise. These included restricting the right of aggregation to staff working in only two colleges; people would not be allowed to mix two levels of work; and one compromise rejected on grounds of practicality that lecturers would not be allowed to qualify if their hours were made up by teaching in more than one subject area. A higher threshold than the 13 hours established for other staff given the right to associate lecturer status was also mooted.

In the end even this compromise was not acceptable to the local authorities, leading union leaders to accept that the claim had reached stalemate this year at least.

The employers were faced with a serious dilemma. If they agreed, the granting of associate lecturer status would be in the hands of college principals. Equally, centralized awarding of contracts by a local authority would seriously dent the autonomy vested in colleges' articles of government.

The management side has still not got as far as producing ideas for change. But the question of class contact hours, although it has not been formally put to the joint working party, is likely to surface over the next few months.

The two sides are due to meet soon to discuss the chances of a new redundancy scheme for the public sector, but the employers have already warned that there are considerable difficulties about improving compensation terms.

They believe there are legal doubts over offering more than is currently available under the statutory redundancy scheme.

The union's claim for improved compensation and better notification procedures has been referred to the local authority associations for their views.

Social science research squeezed by funding

between research and training has been substantially altered in favour of research, and the locus of decision making has shifted towards council and its research board.

The report discusses new policies in training, research, and assessment of grants. From next year the SSRC is to set aside funds for 20 new student awards to be known as collaborative awards in social sciences (CASS). Following the scheme run by the Science and Engineering Research Council these will allow students to spend some research time with a company or local authority.

CASS awards will be most applicable to economics, management, industrial relations, psychology, and education students. The scheme has had to be postponed until the 1982-83 academic year because of cuts.

The report shows the SSRC increasing emphasis on new research initiatives, last year accounting for about 10 per cent (£1.97m) of the total budget, double its share three

years ago. It contains accounts of the year's work in four areas: energy studies; economic modelling; central and local government links; and micro-computers in schools.

It also discusses the controversial restructuring of the 15 subject committees into six problem-orientated committees. The council has received more than a dozen submissions on the scheme as part of its consultative exercise.

The first step towards implementing it was taken yesterday when the SSRC announced the six committees. They will deal with computing, statistics, and social science research methods. Consultation on the new committees ends on November 20.

They are: Professor Sidney Checkland, professor of economic history at Glasgow University, a council member, to chair industry and employment; Mr John Fleming, chief adviser at the Bank of England, chairman of the economics committee;

to chair economic affairs; Professor Raymond Illsley, professor of medical sociology at Aberdeen University, former council member and chairman of the sociology committee, to chair social affairs; Mr Nevil Johnson, a reader at Nuffield College, Oxford, a new council member, to chair government and law; Professor Philip Levy, professor of psychology at Lancaster University, chairman of the psychology committee, to chair education and human development; and Professor Brian Robson, professor of geography at Manchester University, chairman of the human geography committee, to chair environment and planning.

Professor James Durbin, professor of statistics at the London School of Economics, will chair a new research, resources, and methods committee, which will deal with computing, statistics, and social science research methods. Consultation on the new committees ends on November 20.

Officials from the three civil service unions and the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, were meeting members of the SSRC finance and general purposes committee this week to discuss plans to cut staff by 13 from 159 to 146 by

April 1983.

Socialists issue cuts challenge

by David Jobbins

The Government is seeking to impose centralized control over the whole of higher education, socialist academics warned this week.

With the backing of Labour education spokesmen Mr Neil Kinnock and Mr Phillip Whitehead, the academics have launched a campaign to fight the cuts and open a debate on new strategies to involve the wider community in higher education.

A statement signed by academics and Labour MPs says: "The Government's policy is a determined attack on the autonomy of higher education in both its major sectors, and unless resisted will bring a damaging increase in central control of what has previously been, in some measure, a

liberal system."

They warn that the liberal tradition of teaching and research is under attack and add: "We favour a more democratic control of higher education, and a system that is more responsive to social needs, but this present accretion of central State and administrative powers will not serve these purposes."

The campaign is to be launched at a conference at Aston on November 21. Speakers will include Mr Whitehead, Professor Margaret Stacey, Professor Steven Rose and Mr Eric Robinson, principal of Bradford College.

Signatories to the statement announcing the campaign include professors Bernard Crick, Royden Harrison, Robert Moore and Maurice Peston.

Views of their contemporaries and has not attempted to 'doctor' the statements. Where criticisms were raised they have been useful and thorough investigation."

Students interviewed showed considerable enthusiasm for their courses, and many gave practical tips to intending students.

Out of the mouths of babes

Leicester Polytechnic's official prospectus for next year is the first ever to contain frank student comment on courses, the polytechnic claims.

The students' views on every faculty are the product of 50 lengthy interviews carried out by the editor of the prospectus, polytechnic information officer Mr Geoffrey Middleton.

These were carried out after the students' union and student representatives of the boards of study and faculty boards said the comments would help prospective students in making up their minds about courses.

Mr Middleton said: "The polytechnic has accepted that potential students will be interested in the



Chairmen of the six committees. Left to right: Professors Raymond Illsley, John Fleming, Nevil Johnson, Sidney Checkland, Brian Robson

by Paul Eltham

The research life of the main social science disciplines in British universities is now dangerously curtailed, the chairman of the Social Science Research Council, Mr Michael Posner, warns in its annual report published today.

The report reveals that the SSRC received more applications for research grants than ever before, worth a total of almost £21m. But with less than £6m in the kitty, the applications success rate dropped to 25 per cent, the lowest for several years.

In all the council received 844 applications and made 364 awards during 1980-81 to a total value of £5.24m. The squeeze on funds is shown by the fact that in 1978-79 the success rate was 33.5 per cent and in 1979-80 it was 32 per cent.

Mr Posner writes in his introduction that financial pressures have caused an acute strain on the SSRC, leading to harsh choices among priorities. He notes Britain already spends less per head on social science than France and Germany.

"A threshold has been crossed in the history of the SSRC," he writes. "New policies have been implemented which have been some years in the making; the balance

Open Tech for jobless

The proposed Open Tech should give preference to the unemployed, those trying to get back into the labour force and workers trapped in backward industries, says the National Institute for Adult Education.

Fees should be kept low enough to encourage unemployed people and those paying for themselves. "We hope that there would be no discrimination against those with lower levels of job skills or those who may be near the end of their working lives," it says.

The institute says it is disturbed by the lack of support given to adults studying part-time and the rise in Open University fees. "We would not want to see similar hardships with Open Tech students."

The institute recommends the introduction of a voucher system and possible sponsorship of students. Unnecessary duplication could be avoided through the use of the national and regional networks of the Open University.

It warns against the danger of emphasizing the vocational aspect of the Open Tech programme at the expense of personal development.

It agrees that the Open Tech should be based on existing resources, but is concerned as to how it will overcome the inflexibility of established institutions.

The Association for Recurrent Education has also emphasized that the Open Tech should meet the needs of both employed and unemployed.

Unions seek help for youth

Two major teaching unions are seeking an urgent meeting with the Secretary of State for Education to impress on him the need for immediate vast expansion of provision for 16 to 19-year-olds.

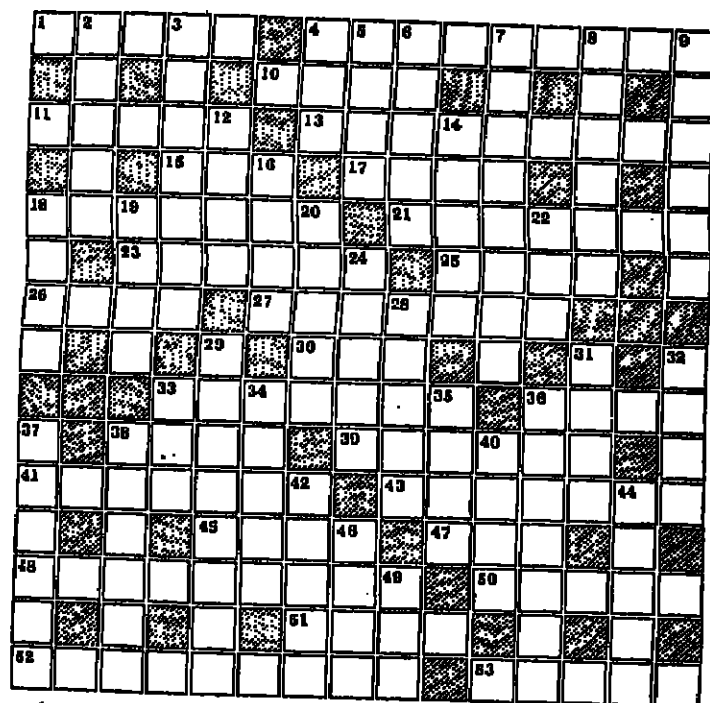
The National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education and the National Union of Teachers are prepared to act as honest brokers between the departments of education, employment, industry and the Manpower Services Commission to achieve a tertiary system which coordinates facilities provided by schools, college and industry.

Both unions were speaking at a meeting this week designed to launch a joint statement "16-19: A common strategy for the age group" which is being circulated to Government departments, local authorities associations and their members.

Natfhe and the NUT stress that a universal coordinated approach will not cost as much as unemployment currently estimated at £10 billion a year, an increasing proportion of which is going to youngsters. They warn too, that the social cost of inaction, shown by events like Toxteth, would be ten times greater.

At present provision is being made only for an estimated 1,000,000 young people out of a potential 1,950,000. If expansion to meet the needs of all the age group is to take place, it will require all existing resources and more, say the unions.

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North American news



Hard hats but soft centres - the tough footballers of the Army Academy at West Point have been embarrassed by women. For 49 years the annual Army versus Princeton University fixture has been prefaced and punctuated by displays by

Princeton's marching band. This year however, they have been banned because the Army finds their performance "too sexy". Nowadays there are women as well as men instrumentalists and in between choruses of "American Eagle" or

"Yankee Doodle" they engage in satire and what is described as "sexual innuendo." Princeton's head president Michael Sanford expressed regret at the Army's decision. An Army official said West Point would make no comment.

Courts test equality laws

from Peter David

WASHINGTON In 1979, for first time since the war, more women than men were enrolled in higher education. This is impressive proof of the gains American women have made in the nine years since it became illegal for federally funded universities and colleges to discriminate against them, according to a report published last week.

In four-year colleges the proportion of women rose from 43 per cent in 1972 to 49 per cent in 1979 and in two-year colleges from 44 per cent to 54 per cent.

The report, published by the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, says more women than ever before are reading for degrees at university largely because the 1972 law ended a range of discriminatory entrance requirements imposed by many colleges.

The rise in the proportion of women in higher education has been accompanied by a shift towards subjects traditionally regarded as male preserves. Between 1972 and 1979 the proportion of women studying agriculture rose from 6 per cent to 27 per cent. In law from 7 to 40 per cent and in business and management from 10 to 31 per cent.

Publication of the report by the NAC appointed by the Carter Administration, coincides with a period of growing controversy about the inter-

pretation of the 1972 law, however. The key section of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 stated that no person in the United States should be excluded, on the basis of sex, from any educational programme or activity receiving federal financial assistance.

But the courts have been dragged into a debate on two key questions about Title IX: do its provisions cover or exclude which receive only part of their income from the federal government and should the law be enforced in respect of the employment of academic staff as well as the enrolment of students?

Supporters of Title IX were delighted a fortnight ago when a federal judge quashed an attempt by one university to argue that the regulations did not extend to intercollegiate athletics, which received no direct federal finance.

District court judge Joseph Lord found against Temple University, Pennsylvania, saying it would be logically and legally absurd to limit the law banning sex discrimination only to programmes receiving direct federal support.

Temple had been sued by a group of its women students who claimed that they received fewer scholarships and worse equipment than male athletes. Temple receives only \$19 million, 10 per cent of its income, from federal sources.

Pleased as they are with that decision, women's pressure groups are

likely to be more apprehensive about the second question hanging over the controversial law - a forthcoming high court case will test whether Title IX covers employees as well as students.

Although Mr Terrel Bell, Education Secretary, will be fighting the case against two Connecticut school boards which want to limit the scope of the regulation, he is thought privately to believe Title IX should protect the rights of educational institutions.

The NAC report underlines the importance of extending its provisions to employment, saying the position of women employed in high level positions has improved only slightly despite many complaints of discrimination in violation of Title IX.

"In colleges and universities the proportion of women faculty members is increasing except at the full professor level. The handful of women college presidents has increased considerably, including greater numbers at the smaller educational institutions. However, in salaries and tenure women continue to lag behind their male counterparts at every level."

Between October 1979 and June 1981, Title IX complaints filed with the Office of Civil Rights included nearly 1,300 charges of violations, says the report. By far the largest number were complaints of salary discrimination, promotion and tenure.

Teacher training in the firing line

from Deborah Kasouf

WASHINGTON The Abolition of Berkeley's school of education, recommended as one solution to criticism of its standards, pinpoints a nationwide concern with the quality of teacher training.

A faculty commission at the University of California at Berkeley, set up by Chancellor Ira Michael Hymen after severe criticism of the school by two previous committees, cited a low-quality faculty and insufficient and substandard published scholarship as two main problems.

Recommendations involve dispersing programmes to other academic departments within the university. Responsibility for teacher training, and existing doctoral training and academic research projects, should be transferred to a "broadly gauged faculty group" drawn from other departments. New "high quality" education programmes should be created and administered by the

same type of interdisciplinary faculty group. Although few schools of education currently face such drastic recommendations at colleges and universities across the country share many of the same problems.

A shrinking national market for teachers has produced declining enrolments at many schools of education and along with stiff competition from other academic departments this has left many teacher training programmes under-staffed and under-funded.

According to the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education as recently as 1977, per cent of all credit-hours earned by university students, but received less than 3 per cent of earmarked finance.

An even bleaker assessment of the problem came from a 1980 study by

two University of Alabama researchers which concluded that on average, nationwide, more is spent on educating a typical third-grader (\$1,400) than on training a teacher (\$927).

Education schools have also come under close scrutiny lately as critics have linked their declining quality with that of their graduates. In particular, statistics have shown that college students going into teaching have regularly scored lower on standardized tests than those going into other fields.

In 1980, college-bound students who said they planned to enter teaching scored 48 points below the average on the scholastic aptitude test in maths and 35 points below the average on the verbal part.

Some education experts feel that accreditation and certification systems designed to insure the quality of education-school programmes are not rigorous enough and may contribute to the problem.

Reforms falter in cabinet reshuffle

from Lionel Cohen

THE HAGUE The fall of Prime Minister Andreas van Agt's four-week-old Dutch cabinet coincided with a divisive meeting of the Academic Council. The meeting was called to decide upon the advice to the Minister of Education on the implementation of university reforms planned to begin in September 1982, which shortened the length of undergraduate and postgraduate courses.

There has been long-running opposition to the reforms from some of Holland's more conservative university administrations, as well as from student organizations opposed to the selective entry requirements for postgraduates.

One of the last acts of former Education Minister, Dr Arie Pais, was to secure parliamentary approval, not only for the reform law, but also for the Order implementing the reform with effect from September 1982.

Although the Labour Party when in Opposition had conceded a large measure of support for the reform, it was qualified, for example, on this question of postgraduate entry selectivity.

Following the formation in mid-September of the second coalition cabinet of Prime Minister van Agt, it was expected that the Labour Party's new Education Minister, Dr Jos van Kemenade, might try to delay implementation of the reform to enable the selectivity aspect to be re-examined. But because this cabinet fell before it could reach agreement on a general declaration of policy, Dr van Kemenade's plans remain unclear.

The issue has been further complicated by the concurrent reorganiza-

tion of university administration for which the reforms also made provision. The Academic Council, which represents all universities at a national level, had been recommended by its advisory committee on administrative reform to press the government to delay implementation of the new legislation till September 1983 in order to permit completion of all the necessary faculty changes.

Dr Pais opposed the recommendation - although the immediate effect of putting such administrative reorganization into effect would be to increase costs. University budgets were already under increasing pressure thus there was a very strong economic argument for phasing these extra administrative expenditures over two years, rather than one.

The more conservative opponents of the reforms were not slow to grasp the possibilities of this economic argument. Four days before the fall of the cabinet, the council of Holland's oldest university, the University of Leiden, decided to advise the Academic Council formally of its opposition to implementation even though most of the university's faculties were already hard at work on the necessary academic and administrative preparations.

Leiden, like most other Dutch universities, has put off the moment at which this painful process of course modernization must begin. The inevitable has suddenly crept upon them and deadlines for submission of study programmes and prospectuses are drawing inexorably closer.

With Dr Jos van Kemenade now Education Minister the whole situation has been thrown into a state of uncertainty - an uncertainty from which only the opponents of this reform seem likely to benefit.

Free schooling threatened

from D. B. Udalagama

COLOMBO Sri Lanka's free education scheme, from kindergarten through university, faces changes in the near future.

President J. R. Jayewardene, who is also minister of higher education, said that circumstances have made it necessary to reconsider "some aspects" of the free scheme. The "costly aspects" of the scheme have to be reviewed, while maintaining free education at primary level.

The finance minister was finding it difficult to find all the money for the scheme.

The president, speaking at the inauguration of a private medical college conducted by the College of Physicians and described as a non-profit making project, also said that, when the free scheme was introduced, students were counted by the thousands. Today their number went into millions. There were 10,000 schools and 140,000 teachers.

Even advanced countries like the United Kingdom were finding it difficult to maintain the universities, he said.

Mr Jayewardene welcomed private initiative in providing facilities for

higher education.

Critics of the new school have condemned it as catering to the not-so-bright children of the rich who are unable to meet the requirements for admission to the universities. (In fact, the number of university places is severely limited, only a little more than 5,000 have been admitted to all the universities in the new academic year which started in early October.)

The free scheme was introduced in the mid-1940s as a result of a recommendation made by a special committee on education. The particular recommendation was adopted by the committee at its penultimate meeting. The late Sir Ivor Jennings who was also a member of the committee entered a dissent.

One of the remarkable facts in this connexion was that the special committee paid no attention to the question of how the free scheme was to be financed. It dismissed the problem airily, saying that human ingenuity could be trusted to find ways and means of financing the scheme, an attitude which has prevailed up to now.

Zimbabweans track down missing students

from Stephen Taylor

SALISBURY Groups of young Zimbabweans started leaving last week to take up studies in Britain under an aid agreement as an episode which has caused frustration among the students and confusion in London and Salisbury appeared to be nearing an end.

Attempts were continuing to track down about 50 who may not yet know that they are entitled to places at British institutions. At the same time a special British Council team in London has been mobilized to try to find universities which will accept about 50 late starters for the academic year.

The confusion stems from the fact that there are two lists of Zimbabwean students who qualify to study in Britain, compiled at different times and under different criteria. The first has 209 names on it, the

second 195. Students on the first list, which was compiled in June, must take up the courses which they originally nominated during their A-levels.

As there is a certain amount of overlapping on the two lists a total of about 250 students are entitled to study in Britain.

At independence in April last year there were two groups of young Zimbabweans studying for A-levels - about 290 due to complete in 1980 and about 870 due to complete in 1981.

Britain set aside about £2m for the higher education of those completing A-levels last year. That was insufficient for all 290 and Zimbabwe's Ministry of Education selected on the basis of the country's manpower needs about 150 students who took up places at universities and polytechnics in October last year. That left 870 students still in Bri-

Mexico ploughs ahead with growth

from Emil Zubryn GUERNAVACA

The Minister of Education, Mr Fernando Solana Morales, has stressed the need for steady growth to the end of the century in Mexico's rapidly rising university population.

Mr Morales expressed confidence that the expansion, which will see 3.5m students in colleges and universities by the year 2000, will be properly handled and intelligently planned. But the scale of the operation, which is far ahead of projections elsewhere in Latin America, represents a considerable challenge.

Within the next decade, when Mexico's university population triples, there will be an excess of highly-educated graduates, especially in the social sciences, according to

Alfonso Rangel, an education official. He estimated that there will be 2.4m students enrolled in universities by 1990-91, as compared with the 838,000 now attending classes.

In 1971, one out of every 16 youths in the 30 to 34 years age group was part of the campus population. In 1980 the figure rose to one in 8, and if the tripling prediction proves true, this will mean one of every four youths will be a university student.

Overall, Mr Rangel insisted there will be a surplus of students with professional degrees, and that the imbalance between professional and technical graduates will continue.

He foresaw an excess of professionals in categories offering little occupational mobility, and continued

openings, even shortages, in other categories.

In an effort to control inflation, the Mexican government has made a global 4 per cent budget reduction in official spending. This also extends to Mexican universities. Dean of the National University of Mexico, Mr Octavio Rivero Serrano, admitted that the diminished official subsidy will be damaging to the Mexican university system because it will be a "long term reality."

There is the hope that a cash flow may be provided by governments of Mexican states, but there is no certainty that anything definite will be approved over the months ahead. Certain expansion programmes of UNAM (the National University), as well as those in the provinces, may have to be reduced or postponed.



African women harvest their village's produce.

Five-year plan urged to train engineers

from John Walshe

DUBLIN

A five-year building programme is needed to double the output of professional engineers from higher education colleges over the next decade, the Education Minister, Mr John Boland, has been told. Estimates indicate that about 1,000 engineers a year are needed.

Modern engineering based industries are experiencing a severe shortage of qualified manpower in all the major industrialized countries so the availability of an adequate supply in Ireland would have a crucial role in maintaining and increasing its attractiveness as a location for new investment, according to a report.

Capital investments in industry and services need to be matched with investments in education to ensure the availability of the qualified manpower, the report said. Capital grants to industry this year amounted to IR£211m (£176m approx) in the present year, while capital investment in higher education is only IR£13m (£10m).

The report, prepared by the Royal Irish Academy, the Manpower Consultative Committee of the Labour Ministry, the National Board for Science and Technology and the Institution of Engineers of Ireland, argues that the present method of funding is inadequate to achieve the increase of up to 1,000 engineers. It should be replaced by a system of multi-annual planning and financing. A ten-year indicative plan should be produced for scientific and technical manpower together with the five-year investment programme.

The number of students, particularly girls, taking higher mathematics and physics at Leaving Certificate level in secondary schools is much too low, it says. This is recognized as a major bottleneck for the achievement of the required level of engineering manpower.

In order to fill the projected number of places in third level engineering schools, a programme to double the number of boys and quadruple the number of girls taking these subjects over the next ten years must be initiated immediately.

The lack of understanding of technology at second level is also causing concern. To counteract this, the report recommends a new technology subject be introduced at Leaving Certificate level on a pilot basis.

Employers must make deliberate provision for the training and continuing updating of the engineers they recruit. Greater emphasis must be placed on cooperation between industry and education. Employers should be more closely involved with third level institutions in such areas as joint research projects, staff interchange and consultancy. Activities involving industry and the schools as well as other means of increasing awareness of engineering industry as a worthwhile career should be vigorously pursued.

Indies join world food study

by Thomas Land

The University of West Indies is to start a new MSc programme this month on the inter-relationship between food availability, food conservation and human nutrition.

The programme is part of a global study involving many universities which has already demonstrated the inadequacy of commonly accepted assumptions on nutritional requirements.

Those assumptions are among the essential factors governing the annual expenditure of vast sums on international food aid and setting the nutrition and health standards of huge populations through long-term agricultural planning in food-deficient regions.

The programme concerning national and regional food and nutrition policy planning is being organized by UWI's faculty of agriculture, and it also involves the faculties of medicine, social sciences and engineering in Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados.

It is intended for the training of fellows from English-speaking African countries as well as the Caribbean region.

Most existing data on nutrition originates from studies conducted with healthy young university students in the industrialized countries. Such data become necessarily meaningless when applied to malnourished people in the developing regions living under very different environmental stresses and exposed to frequent and acute infections.

The gross underestimate of food needs in the developing regions appears to have led to the slow starvation of large populations by their own governments and by the international agencies seeking to assist them. Such conditions are likely to intensify through the vicious circle of malnutrition attracting disease which in turn reduces agricultural productivity and thereby leads to further malnutrition.

When the two officials returned it was decided that a new selection method be made. The results were in fact the poorest obtained by a group of students from this country in Britain and that list - of 195 - was made public only this month. By then many students were in Zimbabwe when they should have been at their places for about two weeks.

Matters were further complicated by the fact that the British Council had already sent letters offering places to about half of the original 209, of whom 65 were not on the second list.

It has now been resolved that all those named on either list may pursue their studies although those on the first must follow the course which they originally nominated.

tain working for A levels this year and for whom no programme had been devised.

At the Zimcord Aid Donors conference in Salisbury in March Lord Soames, Britain's representative, arrived bringing an aid package worth £5m. It was estimated that that would cover about 200 students.

The selection of 209 students, forms the basis of the present confusion and led to a dispute between the Ministries of Education and Manpower.

The Manpower Department believed that the selection should have been made by an inter-ministerial committee on scholarships made up of representatives of six departments. The ministry objected that the 209 had been chosen before their exam results were known and successfully before the selection to be reconsidered.

Two senior officials of the educa-



Two generations of polytechnic directors. Left to right: Mr Vivien Pereira-Mendoza, former director of South Bank Poly; Mr Kenneth Durrands, first and only rector of Huddersfield; and Mr David Bethel, second director at Leicester.

David Jobbins on the comings and goings of the first generation polytechnic directors

Room at the top

Less than half of the first generation of polytechnic directors remain in their jobs.

The pace of retirements has accelerated rapidly over the past 18 months and show little sign of abating.

The creation of a new concept in British education, parallel to but separate and distinct from the universities, was bound to present a major challenge. But few of the 31 former college principals and other academics who embarked on the task as their institutions were established over the years 1969-73 can have anticipated the difficulties they were to encounter.

A succession of economic crises and associated public spending cuts threatened to cripple the process almost before it had begun; relationships with local authorities became uncertain and in some cases downright hostile; finally the Robbins principle, which the polytechnics perhaps more than the universities embodied, was effectively ditched.

The management styles the first directors adopted were as varied as the men themselves and their backgrounds.

The aim ideally was to move as far from old style technical college paternalism with an autocratic principal at the centre. This placed extra demands on the directors who had been the heads of technical colleges which largely formed the nucleus of the new polytechnics. But if some failed to adjust their approach to the demands of the new system, others rapidly set about constructing internal mechanisms designed to give academic staff the opportunity to innovate.

Although not from that first generation, Mr David Bethel, who took over Leicester Polytechnic in 1974, said on taking up the appointment: "I believe a director, like a vice chancellor, brings a style to the job which does influence other people. . . It is not a question of the fleshing of naked power but of government by consensus and letting one's general objectives be known."

But when it is directed against your department or course, consensus begins to look too much like conspiracy for comfort, and there can hardly be a director in the country without at least one brush with dissenting staff on his record.

Some are minor - the issues including the allocation of support staff, or the use of buildings. Others have been major, leading to full crises culminating in careers and reputations at stake.

The original generation broke down into three main groups - the largest were the former college principals, closely followed by university academics and heads of other institutions. Lastly came the outsiders recruited from industry or like Ulster rector Mr Derek Binley, from the education service.

Such staunch supporters of the polytechnic ideal as Mr Ronald Healy of Trent and Dr Arthur Suddaby have gone. Others such as Sir Alec Smith of Manchester and Dr William Davey of Portsmouth announced they would follow. Soon to go are Sir Norman Lindop of Hatfield and

Dr George Brosan of North East London.

Over a few months the collective public face of the polytechnics is changing many of its key features. Of the 31 polytechnics barely a dozen retain their original directors. But the injection of new blood has been rare with governing bodies preferring to appoint a new director with an intimate knowledge of the obscure and pitfall-ridden system of funding and administration. A marked tendency has been to appoint the senior assistant director to fill the retiring man's shoes, or to import someone from the senior administration at another polytechnic.

This approach mirrors exactly what happened when the first round of appointments was being made. The logical and safest decision, and therefore the one adopted in most instances, was to give the job to the principal of the largest college which was to be a part of the new polytechnic. More than a dozen of the first appointments were of college heads.

Some institutions took brave choices, picking high fliers from industry or other spheres. Manchester, for example chose Sir Alec Smith, who had been head of advanced research for Rolls Royce, and Huddersfield opted for Mr Ken Durrands, technical director of Vickers Engineering.

Others sowed seeds which would later produce bitter fruit, as at North London, where the choice fell on Mr Terence Miller, for two years principal of the University College of Rhodesia, who reacted to student unrest and other internal difficulties with the terminology of the military campaign.

There has been a tendency for the loudest protests to come from institutions where innovative management methods have been employed.

At Huddersfield Mr Durrands' managerial approach provoked deep seated criticism which has still not been satisfied.

More than four years ago the polytechnic branch of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education said the style of management was inappropriate, and more suited to industry than to an educational institution.

The response they received from a senior member of Mr Durrands' team reinforced their anxieties rather than dissipating them. A memorandum to staff read: "If the polytechnic is considered a business then it is in the business of selling. The product is academic staff knowledge and expertise, and the customers are the students."

One polytechnic, Lanchester (now Coventry), has had three directors in its relatively short history. The first director was Sir Alan Richmond, who had studied for his BSc at the former Northampton Polytechnic while an apprentice fitter, and had taken his doctorate at the old Battersea Polytechnic. He moved to Coventry in 1965 after heading the engineering department at the Wales College of Advanced Technology. He left in 1972 to become principal of a hybrid sixth form and further education college in Somerset, and was replaced by Dr Keith Legg, an aeronautical engineer with a very similar educational background.

But after a mere two years - the shortest tenure of any polytechnic director - Dr Legg disillusioned with the way British higher education was developing, quit to take over the Hongkong Polytechnic.

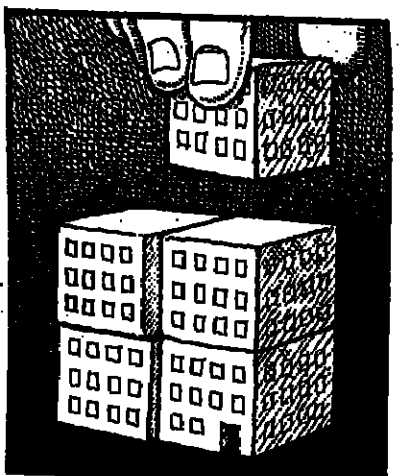
Undeterred, the Lanchester government made another nonconformist decision - this time to appoint what his critics have disparagingly called a school headmaster in his place. Mr Geoffrey Holroyde had in fact an impressive record as head of the Sidney Stringer community college, an 1,800-pupil comprehensive school in the city which he ran on community college lines and opened as a community centre at night.

The most unexpected choice certainly in recent years and possibly in the history of the polytechnics was taken earlier this year by City. They broke with tradition and appointed someone with only minimal classroom experience, industrial lawyer Mr Michael Edwards. Mr Edwards' varied career includes spells in the Parliamentary draftsman's office, with Courtaulds as a company lawyer and finally head of what was one of British Leyland's profitable subsidiaries before reorganization.

Although it is early days for him too, all the indications are that his expertise will prove invaluable in tackling City's complex accommodation difficulties.

Former Labour Minister Mr Gerry Fowler also has a major task on his hands. He is to transfer from deputy director of one of Britain's smallest polytechnics (Preston) to one of the largest and administratively most complex (North East London).

His appointment as successor to the tough but genial Dr George Brosan puts him firmly in the hot seat for NELP's most testing period. Dr Brosan's approach to running NELP has been extensively criticized by his staff over the past year, and he has come unstuck on at least two major initiatives. But he managed to retain the respect if not affection of his adversaries. The test for Mr Fowler is whether he will be able to say much after dealing with this winter's treasuries over financing, which are likely to hit NELP more harshly than almost any other polytechnic.



To make good news out of the bad

Paul Flather looks at the Glasgow University Media Group, whose public stand on press and television bias may be vindicated by the BBC's call for an internal inquiry

Early next year will see the publication of a book called *Really Bad News*. It will be the third in a series by the Glasgow University Media Group, and like its predecessors, *Trade Unions and the Media* and *More Bad News*, it is certain to cause a stir.

The book will add fresh evidence to the group's major thesis that the way news and current affairs are presented by the BBC and Independent Television News is biased and distorted, particularly when dealing with trade unions and the Labour movement.

Bad News used as its major example the coverage of the Glasgow dustmen's strike. In all the reports called to give their opinion, *More Bad News* revealed that in the first four months of 1975 there were 287 occasions when someone appeared on the news to defend the Government's "Social Contract", and just 17 when it was attacked.

Really Bad News looks at the way in which coverage of the splits inside the Labour Party last winter continuously worked against the Labour left. It includes a chapter "What Next?" where the group extends its thesis by calling for a pluralist approach to broadcasting, in which all political shades of opinion have access to the media and television staff are recruited from a range of social groups and classes.

The group has been caught in a veritable cross-fire of criticism, abuse, acclaim and support, since its first comprehensive analysis of British broadcasting in 1975. It has been accused of being "a shadowy guerrilla force on the fringe of broadcasting", faced with "libel writs from ITN", suffered reviews from leading broadcasters headlined "Getting it wrong" and "Bad news - or poor scholarship?", and learnt via leaked minutes that BBC chiefs were preparing "ammunition" to rebut their charges.

All this did not leave the group unscathed. Usually when academics enter a public debate they expect their work to do all the talking for them. Put under siege for six years and finding open debate of their research constantly stifled, the Glasgow group felt itself driven to take a more public stance. It responded to a few hundred invitations to speak at their work, mainly in trade union forums.

Then last April it helped mastermind an open letter signed by more than 100 professors, trade union leaders, and MPs, accusing the BBC and ITN of bias and distortion in their news coverage. The letter drew on a growing body of research, notably from Birmingham University's Centre for Cultural Studies and Leicester University's Mass Communication Centre, as well as the Glasgow work. The points were taken up again in a Labour Party political broadcast.

For some of the group it marked the completion of a circle begun in 1974 when the team had assembled around Professor John Eldridge, a professor of sociology at Glasgow. What had started as a traditional research project ended with a defiant public statement.

As Mr Greg Philo, one of the group, put it: "We set out to see how far it was possible to be objective in broadcasting. Under siege we have been forced to make a public stand."

The allegations were swiftly and predictably denied by ITN and the Independent Broadcasting Authority, which reaffirmed that it took its task to ensure impartiality under the 1966 Television Act extremely seriously. The BBC in spite of the machinations revealed in various leaked minutes of meetings held by senior executives, had a more open mind.

Last week details of BBC plans to commission an outside agency to test out just what people think of news coverage emerged, and Alastair Osborne, editor of *Radio News* and current affairs, is shortly to start an internal inquiry on the same subject.

All this looks like a remarkable vindication of the Glasgow group's decision to go public, with the open letter. The view from inside the BBC newsroom is that the *Bad News* material has indeed had an important effect, leading broadcasters to review many of their uncritical assumptions. The old rules for balance - for example how many minutes did MPs from each party get on air in a certain month - are not going to suffice in future.

However the group's strictures on the use of language and visual presentation are less easily accepted: state run corporations under reporting pressures in the newsroom. *More Bad News* discussed the use of inferential language which predisposes the views of the audience. Thus the two most frequently used terms in industrial reports are found to be "strike" and "dispute". This is the world where workers issue "demands" and employers make "offers", where a British Leyland stoppage automatically implies a strike.

The Glasgow team, supported by a £20,000 Social Science Research Council grant concentrated on a content analysis of the news. The team isolated some 400 hours of news material on industrial and economic affairs. Three months later a preliminary report was sent to the Royal Commission on broadcasting. It many accounts it was well received, but not before the BBC had sent its own counter report.

The fireworks started with the draft copies of *Bad News* which referred to the presence of certain company executives in the ITN newsroom, and connections between advertising and the reporting of news. ITN sued, offending passages were dropped. As Eldridge put it: "It was not like the blinking blinkers of the Islanders. They never brought legal actions."

Then came the reviews. Most of the criticism however was kept within internal discussions, one which quoted the director general saying it would be better to attack socialism in general rather than *Bad News* in detail. Eldridge said it was just laughable. "They talked in the language of battle. It never seemed to occur to them that we might have had something going for us. Instead of trying to absorb the thing through a seminar or debate, it was all about how to discredit us as politically motivated."

In fact the BBC commissioned no reports on news coverage around this time. *Social Research on Broadcasting* and *More Bad News* last year again stirred up controversy, provoking Mr Alastair Hetherington, then head of BBC Scotland, to say it was academic "codswallop". The Scottish TUC meanwhile passed a motion denouncing the attempts to intimidate the Glasgow group.

Most academics strongly welcome the contribution to media studies made by the group, even if they are not fully convinced by all the research. Even Professor Hall, a notable supporter whose ideas inspired the group's approach said some of the concepts used could be refined.

The irony of it all is that a furious private debate was taking place within the group was publicly being rubbished. Professor Hall provides a worthy epitaph: "Whether they liked it or not, everyone read *Bad News*." But pushed against the wall the group reacted with the April open letter. Perhaps with last week's news from the BBC the group's work is going to be more publicly discussed.

A union leader, an industrialist and a top scientist approach the relationship between higher education and industry from different angles but agree it is crucial Britain's economic recovery.

Lessons in learning from the Japanese

The way the technological universities fared at the hands of the University Grants Committee was the final confirmation for trade union leader Clive Jenkins that Britain had got it badly wrong.

At the depth of a recession, with indications that Britain's major competitors would be far more prepared for the economic upturn when it arrives, the cornerstone of recovery seemed to be under attack.

No past government has ever succeeded in matching Britain's industrial needs to her higher educational system, Mr Jenkins believes.

"But it all becomes much more difficult because of the savage cuts in university funding. I am frankly horrified by the way some universities - Aston, Salford, Bradford, for example - will be damaged."

At this year's TUC Mr Jenkins compared Britain's output of graduate engineers unfavourably with Japan.

In 1978 Japan produced 71,167 graduate engineers compared with only 6,897 in Britain. In medicine and biochemistry the figures were 20,000 for Japan as against 5,000 for this country.

In 1977 271,956 graduate engineers and scientists were working in Japanese industry, compared with a paltry 78,800 in the UK two years earlier.

But what worried Mr Jenkins most was his researches was the methodical way in which higher education paved the way for the new industries pioneered by Japan in the 1960s and 1970s.

Planning decisions were reached by consensus between academics, managers and industrialists about the needs of the economy.

"Their higher education system fits quite precisely into their industrial thinking and forecasting for the future. They simply have better mechanisms than we do for this kind of thing."

The tasks of the universities should be spelled out by national consensus. Whatever new planning device we have, it is very important that the capacity and potential of the higher education sector must be taken into account.

"I am not suggesting that we should turn the universities into technological workshops, but they have not been responsive enough," said Mr Jenkins, general secretary of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs.

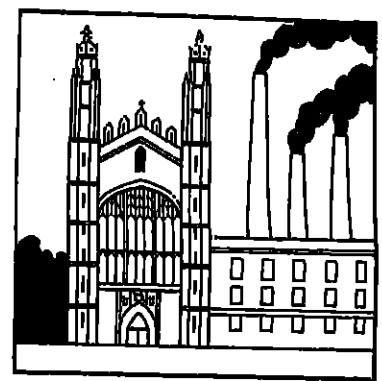
"Neither am I asking for a science-based higher education sector - I want all the philosophical and social studies to be carried out as well. But in terms of national regeneration and survival, science and technology is crucial."

A direct transfer of the Japanese approach to the UK is impossible. Mr Jenkins agrees. The social costs would be too high, the cultural and religious differences unbridgeable.

But he believes that something must be done to secure more rational planning if the chances of national recovery are not to be missed through shortages of skilled professionals and technologists.

"Whatever happens we are going to have to plan higher education. Essentially it is now under-planned or not planned at all."

The ills are deeply entrenched in an essentially conservative British society, he believes. And with so



Mr Jenkins: distaste for UGC

Need for better contacts

The relationship between higher education and industry has been accorded increased importance at the Confederation of British Industry under the presidency of Sir Raymond Pennock.

Although the new interest in education manifested by the CBI is largely a reflection of circumstances, Sir Raymond has not been slow to voice opinions on the system. Only this month he was to be heard attacking the University Grants Committee for its allocation of cuts.

As an enthusiastic supporter of cuts in government spending, Sir Raymond was not quibbling over the amount of money available to the UGC but over the way in which the cuts were apportioned. Those academic areas which were closest to technology and business should be protected because of their direct influence on the economic welfare of the country, he said.

On further examination, CBI officials are less critical of the cuts. Mr Michael Bury, head of education and training, said: "Our feeling is that, given that we see, like the Government, a need to save public expenditure, it is certainly a relief that things were not worse overall on technology and particularly engineering."

Sir Raymond has made clear on a number of occasions that he supports Treasury demands for greater economy in the spending departments of Government, from which education cannot be exempt. But he and officials at Centre Point have been anxious to smooth the inevitably rocky path to be travelled by the institutions which will provide tomorrow's recruits to industry.

In June for example, Sir Raymond took the unusual step of writing to all CBI members appealing to them not to withdraw from the employment of graduates because of the recession. He was anxious to avoid a repetition of employers' reactions to poor economic prospects at the beginning of the 1970s, when many companies took on no graduates at all. The result was further encouragement to students and careers services to look beyond industry for employment opportunities.

The appeal seems to have been heeded to some extent, although firms are inevitably cutting back on their recruitment. Mr Bury says it will be Christmas before the impact of the letter becomes obvious although the signs are that the decline will not be as serious as initial forecasts suggested.

But Sir Raymond remains dissatisfied with the degree of contact between academics and industrialists, comparing the relative isolationism of Britain with the position in West

Germany, where considerably more interchange takes place.

The CBI is still trying to foster more contact between the two sectors, concentrating on the universities on the grounds that polytechnics already have reliable links. Mr Bury cites the establishment of an industry liaison group of Oxford University as one example of success in an unexpected area.

He admits that the level of interest in the affairs of higher education varies enormously among members of the confederation, but thinks that practical problems rather than apathy present the most serious obstacles to further progress. "The most common difficulty in new ventures is one of time and resources," says Mr Bury. "Informal arrangements often work well but if we have got to set up a committee then that becomes a problem."

Even those initiatives to which the CBI is most committed, such as the development of sandwich courses, cannot be guaranteed to run smoothly. Quite apart from the difficulty of maintaining the volume of placements during the recession, employers would prefer a steady flow of students to the present unmanageable peak which occurs each summer.

For the moment, the CBI is most interested in putting across its views on how the education system



Sir Raymond: appeal to employers

from senior schools to universities, should be integrated and made responsive to the needs of the economy. It is not impressed with arguments for more vocational courses or for substantial alterations in the number or subject balance of students. Aside from the protection of technological and business courses, it is not anxious to steer the Government away from its general course in education.

But, despite Sir Raymond's occasional intervention in debates between education and industry, there is little evidence that the subject is at the top of the agenda in either world. Next week's CBI conference, for example has no time scheduled specifically for discussion on education.

John O'Leary

Flexibility is strength for both sides

There is a common view that British industry has a bad record for exploiting the innovations of our academic researchers. Similarly our university scientists are often discussed in scathing terms for their lack of appreciation or inclination to turn their own ideas and discoveries into hard commercial technology.

Yet Sir Geoffrey Allen believes that when compared with other western European countries, Britain is doing quite well. And Sir Geoffrey is in a position to know. Last month he relinquished chairmanship of the Science and Engineering Research Council and has now taken up the post of head of Unilever Research - a move which reflects his predilection for turning the academic into the industrial on all possible occasions.

"Britain is doing quite well in terms of its rapport between industry and universities - which is quite remarkable when you take into account the present economic situation", he says.

One piece of evidence which supports his view is applied by the statistics for the country's collaborative awards in science and engineering (CASE). These allow postgraduate students to train on projects jointly devised by academics and firms. Despite a very sticky beginning, they now account for 30 per cent of all the SERC's studentship training in science



Sir Geoffrey: Too much at stake

and engineering and at present there are more than twice the number of applications for CASE awards as there are places.

But the particular strength of Britain's industry-university relations lies in their flexibility, Sir Geoffrey maintains. In Germany for instance these interactions are quite structured and although their engineering research application is superior to ours, British chemical and physics input into industry had proved better because of its somewhat unstructured make-up.

Sir Geoffrey believes this is a significant feature of the British scene. "At SERC we certainly found it easier to establish collaboration between science and industry than between engineering and industry."

Although this problem is not quite as serious as is sometimes believed, it does exist - particularly because in engineering it is more difficult to highlight what a university should do and what industry should do. "In engineering research there is real confusion between the roles of higher education and industry", he added.

Much of the pattern of industrial links in Britain comes in the form of unofficial consultancy appointments. All sorts of links take place but the large-scale projects could not occur without the steady background of personal, small-scale interaction.

As an example of the success of this unofficial network which has led to a major industry-university project, Sir Geoffrey quotes the recent setting up of Universe, a multi-million pound scheme involving the electronics industry, the Government and the SERC in using satellites to link computers.

Yet faults still exist on both sides. "The ivory tower attitude of academics remains,

Robin McKie

The provocative curve that led on to disenchantment

Ngao Crequer reports on a mathematical model of how the UGC arrived at its cuts.

It is still extremely surprising that the method by which the University Grants Committee proposed its first wholesale reshaping of the university system has come under almost no public scrutiny.

Its decisions, to cut here, add there, recommend course closures or maintenance somewhere else, have of course been thoroughly examined and commented upon. But the method by which those decisions were arrived at is still locked up at 14, Park Crescent.

Not that the suggestion is that a simple code exists which, on keying in the right question reveals why, say, Manchester should reduce biological sciences or Kent should discontinue drama. The UGC has never claimed to play the game by numbers alone, nor would many academics want them to do so.

But it might be presumed that a ground plan based on numerical data, with subjective opinion modifying it as the thing went along, was the way the exercise began.

A Salford academic, Dr George Gooberman, an electronic engineer, has in fact been looking at the possible ways the UGC arrived at its figures and his hypothetical strategy is worth examination.

Assume first that the UGC decided to change the arts, science and medicine ratios in favour of science and medicine. They looked at the number of students in each subject area which could be afforded, given the limited government finance, and arrived at a cut of 11,200 students by 1983/84 (including a mistake in Draper's figures): science, a cut of 2,310 students; arts, a cut of 2,310 students; and medicine, an increase of 1,060 students. As percentages these are respectively, minus 8.56 per cent, minus 2.16 per cent and plus 4.54 per cent.

Then assume that the UGC initially applied a uniform cut of 8.56 per cent to all arts faculties and a uniform cut of 2.16 per cent to all science faculties. The accompanying graph shows the universities ranked in order of the percentage change eventually decided upon, with separate plots for arts and science made of rank against percentage change, relative to a uniform cut base.

For arts, the median change is close to zero whereas in science it is close to 2.2 per cent. It is likely that in arts a uniform cut was applied initially to each university and then numbers redistributed, whereas in science it was decided at some stage to redistribute students about a zero change base line.

The close similarity in the shape of the cut curves for the twelve or so most heavily cut universities should be noted even though different universities lie in this region for arts compared with science. If the arts cuts, relative to a uniform base, and science cuts relative to a zero cut base, are plotted against rank, both sets of figures lie on the same curve. This approximates closely to an exponential.

Looking at the graph it appears likely that the UGC divided the arts and science faculties into four approximately equal groups: (a) would get large percentage increases of students, (b) small percentage increases, (c) small percentage cuts and (d) large percentage cuts.

A large change is defined as being greater than 3.5 per cent and a small change as being less than 3.5 per cent, relative to the appropriate base. The choice of 3.5 per cent is arbitrary but it is at about this level that the curves in the graph start to deviate significantly from an approximate straight line through the faculties situated around the median ranking number.

For groups (b) and (c) it is likely that the UGC decided that the net change in student numbers, relative to the appropriate bases, should be zero. For arts the increase in numbers in group (a) is to be supplied by cuts in group (d). But for science the

cuts in groups (d) have to supply not only the increase in group (a) but also the net loss of 3,310 students between 1979/80 and 1983/84.

In arts faculties it is suggested that an increase for group (a), equalling the cut in (d) should be about an average faculty size, 2,390 students. This represents a cut for group (d) of about 12 per cent and if a similar percentage cut were applied to science (d) a cut of 4,030 students would result. This would exceed the required net loss of science students by 1,720 and so this number could be added to group (a).

As a result of the above, the changes in numbers become as follows (for arts numbers still relative to a uniform cut base, but for science relative to a zero cut base):

Group:	Science nos.	Arts nos.
a	plus 1,720	plus 2,390
b & c combined	0	0
d	minus 4,030	minus 2,390

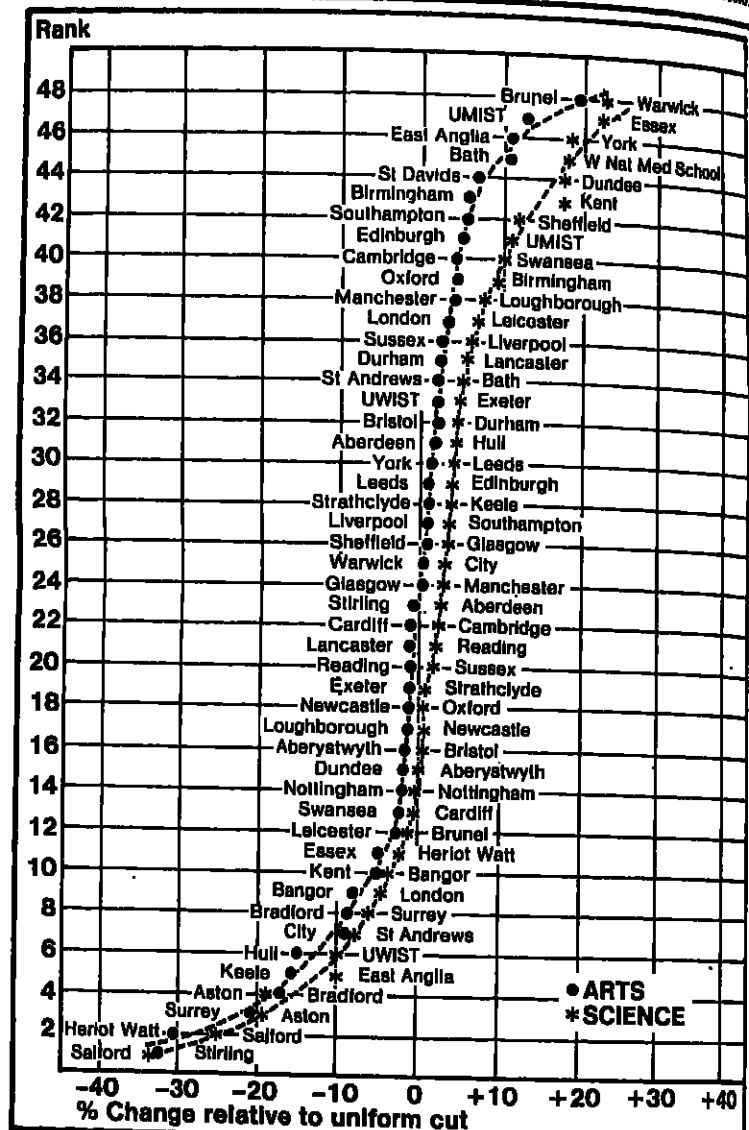
The actual changes as recommended by the UGC are:

(a)	plus 1,660	plus 2,300
(b)	plus 400	plus 390
(c)	minus 380	minus 360
(d)	minus 3,990	minus 2,330

As can be seen, the magnitude of the errors is small. But if the universities were, at early stages, put into these kinds of groups, what, if any, were the numerical criteria?

The strategy being examined suggests, for example, that in science the larger faculties would have been looked at first as being prime targets for heavy cuts, and small faculties as candidates for large increases, with Science and Engineering Research Council funding as an indicator.

If science faculties are ranked according to size there is a strong correlation between the direction of student numbers change between adjacent universities, and the direction of change in SERC funding expressed as an amount per member of scientific staff. This is provided that English, Scottish and Welsh universities



are grouped separately. The magnitude of the science cuts indicates a possible bias against those universities with a 1:2 arts/science ratio. Some of the arts cuts follow the science cuts if it is assumed that the UGC did not wish to modify the current arts/science ratio excessively, nor reduce the overall university size below 2,020. Others could be explained by a bias against universities with arts/science ratios exceeding 2:1.

The strategy suggested is numerical but it accepts that the UGC was unlikely only to use numerical criteria. Not all the decisions therefore can be accounted for so simply and for example, Stirling and East Anglia are glaring science anomalies under this strategy. There must have been many decisions made and it is intriguing that the cuts applied to science at Stirling and Salford are exactly one third and one quarter, respectively, relative to a uniform cut base. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the strategy is that the science cut exponential is followed closely by the arts cut relative to a uniform cut base and it would be interesting to discover if this was accidental.

John Sutherland on an industrious patron of the English novel

The bumpy ride to Booker, 1981

Although they were prominent in the classical world, prizes figured little in post-Renaissance literature except as university trophies. The great revival in prize-giving occurred at the turn of the twentieth century with the Nobel, the Pulitzer, the Goncourt and the various state administered award of the Soviet Union. These prizes reflect their different host cultures. The Pulitzer is strongly biased towards the press - traditionally conceived as the guarantor of American democracy. Conformity with state ideology is the core of the Soviet system; hence Brezhnev wins a literary prize for his autobiography and Solzhenitsyn goes into exile. The Goncourt incarnates the intellectual purity of French academicism. The Nobel expresses bad conscience towards the world at large, its massive reward (£98,000, as against the Goncourt's token few francs) being drawn from the international patent on stabilized dynamite.

The hopeful writer who turns to the 'Awards' section of the British *Whitaker and Tarr's Year Book* will find a warning that compared to North America there are few literary prizes to be found in this country. Closer inspection will reveal that those prizes on offer are small potatoes. The James Tait Black (founded 1918) and the Hawthornden (1919) are the longest established and offer a paltry £1,000 or less. With one exception, there is no British literary prize that can be guaranteed to made headlines. That exception, of course, is the Booker, an annual award devised by Sir John Sutherland, the first to be set up to give Britain its rival to Pulitzer, Nobel and Goncourt.

The Booker prize for "the best



John Sutherland: joint prize.

novel in the opinion of the judges" was endowed in 1968 and first awarded in 1969. The panel of judges (between three and five) might be considered themselves prize-winners: appointed for a year they had £150 initially, rising to £500 in 1975 and £750 in 1981 (the chairman has a £250 bonus on top). The standing by the Publishers' Association and taken over by the National Book League in 1972. The paymaster is Booker McConnell, the sugar, food-distribution and engineering combine who undertook to support the prize in the first instance until 1975. When this period elapsed, the prize was further underwritten by the firm (at £10,000) until 1982.

Why did Booker McConnell subsidize the English novel? Because they profited from it. Since the 1960s they had offered mutually remunerative schemes to superseding authors like Ian Fleming and Agatha Christie. In 1968, their profit from this source was reckoned at £100,000. In 1976 the firm reported profits of £16m on a turnover of £373m with the artists' services division achieving "virtually double after-tax profits of £355,000." (The firm's Revenue has since closed this bookshop, but Booker retain their Fleming-Christie investment).

Consequently, from Tom Maschler of Cape, Fleming's publisher, there were executives sympathetic to literature at Booker McConnell. Nor can the accounts have been discreditable. The current overall cost of running the prize is estimated at £25,000. This is cheap patronage, compared to the sponsorship of an opera, a golf match or a cricket tournament.

In 1972 the Booker entered on what was to be the most uncomfortable phase of its existence. The judges were Cyril Connolly, George Steiner and Elizabeth Bowen. They



This year's literary luminaries: Salman Rushdie (left), the Indian writer who was awarded the £10,000 Booker prize for his novel *Midnight's Children*, and Bulgarian-born Elias Canetti, whose work won him the Nobel prize worth £98,000.

Booker have been unobtrusive patrons. The character of the prize has been largely determined by regulations emanating from the NBL. Such rules as the minimum number of copies to be printed (3,000 dropping to 2,000 in 1975) or the size of advertising budget required for eligibility have tended to freeze out first novels and works by fringe publishers, keeping the prize squarely in the commercial sector of the book trade. The NBL's intention - sometimes its obsession - has been to make a media splash with the Booker and by so doing stimulate the novel-buying habit. The director, Martyn Goff, has even welcomed malicious reporting of which there was plenty in the early 1970s as "the life blood of news value for the prize."

There was little life blood for the first award in 1969. The judges, under *Guardian* literary editor W. L. Webb, gave the prize to P. H. Newby's *Something to answer for* - "one of the decade's dullest novels" according to Bookworm of the *Spectator*. More to the point, there were only 36 entries, some of the biggest London publishers smoothly boycotting the whole affair.

The book trade came round the next year, out of 60 entries, Bernice Rubens won. The winner in 1971 was V. S. Naipaul with *In a Free State*. The choice was universally approved, but there was anger at new regulations stipulating that henceforth only novels published between September 1 and November 15 would qualify. The aim of this straitjacket was to reproduce the Goncourt pattern - that is create an avalanche of books in one month and whip up a fever of public excitement as they raced, neck and neck for the premier national prize.

There were French commentators who deplored the autumnal Goncourt hysteria. But none could deny that it sold novels. The winner might add as many as 250,000 extra sales. In Britain Booker has never had this spectacular effect, although year by year the bonus to the winner has been jacked up to around 15,000 hardback (and in 1980, Penguin reportedly did well with their rush paperbacking of the shortlist). There would seem to be a national-cultural difference here, immune to any juggling with the calendar.

The British book trade resented the six-week eligibility period. Judges resented it too, since they now had to come to novels cold, without the benefit of reviews. The *Times* launched a hostile leader on the subject; entries dropped to just over 40. In the face of this opposition, the aperture was widened from July 1 to November 30; then in 1975 it was pushed right back to January 1, where it has remained.

In 1972 the Booker entered on what was to be the most uncomfortable phase of its existence. The judges were Cyril Connolly, George Steiner and Elizabeth Bowen. They

offended: "our objective in awarding the prize is to encourage writers to speak from their hearts." Nevertheless, Goff confirms that 1973 was "make or break for Britain's answer to Goncourt." The judges for this critical year were Karl Miller, Edna O'Brien and - unusually - the American novelist Mary McCarthy. They came up with two obvious contenders: Murdoch's *The Black Prince* and Bainbridge's *The Dressmaker*. Less automatic a choice was J. G. Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur*. A rank outsider, Elizabeth Mavor's *The Green Equinox*, completed the list.

What went on at the judging meetings (formal occasions, by the way, chaired by the non-voting Goff) is private. The implication is that Farrell was a compromise - the agreed second best novel of the year. Another conclusion drawn by commentators was that Murdoch (on the shortlist for the third time) might never win because she was too eminent. Grahame Greene and Anthony Powell had instructed their publishers not to submit their work, on the grounds that the prize should go to young writers. The precaution would seem to have been unnecessary. The Booker apparently operated a standard by which age, fame and proven literary genius were handicaps.

The award dinner was held during the crisis of Heath's phase three, the miners' strike and, as the right wing press predicted, imminent revolution. Farrell, following Berger's lead, declared in his acceptance speech that miners should, by rights, be paid more than company chairmen. None the less, he pocketed the company's £5,000 and went off to do research in Singapore for what was to be, unapparently, his last novel.

The judges for 1974 were Ian Trevelyan (literary editor of *The Times*), novelist-academic A. S. Byatt and Elizabeth Jane Howard. It was a big year for novels with Durrell, Burgess, Spark, Snow, Murdoch, Manning (an inveterate critic of Booker) and Amis in contention. The row which blew up this year centred on Amis's *Ending Up*. It was shortlisted and Howard was, in private life, Mrs Amis. The accusation of an establishment fix was levelled directly in a letter to *The Times* by a correspondent who was, allegedly, the close friend of a novelist unlikely to be associated with the judges. Nation publishing company was Lord Campbell of Eskan, "honorary president of Booker McConnell."

The squabble was unedifying, but Berger's two main points still emerged with some force. The first was that to the precise conscience any prize money is likely to be tainted, on the Balzacian principle that behind every fortune lies a crime. The second was that the NBL's promotional circus of shortlists and suspenseful literary decisions was degrading; it treated writers "as though they were racehorses."

The representative of Booker's at the 1972 ceremony was stoically un-

offended: "our objective in awarding the prize is to encourage writers to speak from their hearts." Nevertheless, Goff confirms that 1973 was "make or break for Britain's answer to Goncourt." The judges for this critical year were Karl Miller, Edna O'Brien and - unusually - the American novelist Mary McCarthy. They came up with two obvious contenders: Murdoch's *The Black Prince* and Bainbridge's *The Dressmaker*. Less automatic a choice was J. G. Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur*. A rank outsider, Elizabeth Mavor's *The Green Equinox*, completed the list.

What went on at the judging meetings (formal occasions, by the way, chaired by the non-voting Goff) is private. The implication is that Farrell was a compromise - the agreed second best novel of the year. Another conclusion drawn by commentators was that Murdoch (on the shortlist for the third time) might never win because she was too eminent. Grahame Greene and Anthony Powell had instructed their publishers not to submit their work, on the grounds that the prize should go to young writers. The precaution would seem to have been unnecessary. The Booker apparently operated a standard by which age, fame and proven literary genius were handicaps.

The award dinner was held during the crisis of Heath's phase three, the miners' strike and, as the right wing press predicted, imminent revolution. Farrell, following Berger's lead, declared in his acceptance speech that miners should, by rights, be paid more than company chairmen. None the less, he pocketed the company's £5,000 and went off to do research in Singapore for what was to be, unapparently, his last novel.

The judges for 1974 were Ian Trevelyan (literary editor of *The Times*), novelist-academic A. S. Byatt and Elizabeth Jane Howard. It was a big year for novels with Durrell, Burgess, Spark, Snow, Murdoch, Manning (an inveterate critic of Booker) and Amis in contention. The row which blew up this year centred on Amis's *Ending Up*. It was shortlisted and Howard was, in private life, Mrs Amis. The accusation of an establishment fix was levelled directly in a letter to *The Times* by a correspondent who was, allegedly, the close friend of a novelist unlikely to be associated with the judges. Nation publishing company was Lord Campbell of Eskan, "honorary president of Booker McConnell."

The squabble was unedifying, but Berger's two main points still emerged with some force. The first was that to the precise conscience any prize money is likely to be tainted, on the Balzacian principle that behind every fortune lies a crime. The second was that the NBL's promotional circus of shortlists and suspenseful literary decisions was degrading; it treated writers "as though they were racehorses."

which the *News* so irresponsibly broke was itself an anti-climax. The judges, failing unanimity, awarded the prize jointly to Stanley Middleton and Nadine Gordimer. The division satisfied on one. Ever since, the NBL has insisted on single winners. At the dinner that year the sponsors gave no pledge on the continuation of the prize after 1975, and they had hard words for the press.

Angus Wilson, novelist and professor, chaired the 1975 panel with Peter Ackroyd, Susan Hill and Roy Fuller. Despite an eye-straining 83 submissions their conclusion was a bombshell. As *The Times* put it, in a one sentence front-page announcement: "Two novels are on the shortlist, one by an Australian and the other by a naturalized Pole who lives in Delhi." The *Guardian* had more fun with a long exercise in facetious chauvinism entitled "Hauling down the fictional flag." Jhabvala and Kenyon were clearly eligible by the rules - but the contest was painfully lacking in home team appeal. Wilson compounded the offence by his award speech (*Heat and Dust* won) in which he attacked the British novel broadside for its "pervasive middle class sophistication." The 1975 decision was a plea for the cosmopolitan, serious, genuinely intelligent novel. Britain's booksellers were unimpressed.

Henceforth the shortlist was to contain a minimum of three and a maximum of six titles (this was relaxed to seven in 1980). An emboldened management committee, erased the highbrow taint of 1975 and 1972 by appointing Mary Wilson as one of the judges for 1976. Mrs Wilson - who declined her



Iris Murdoch: supremely famous. favourite authors to be Georgette Heyer and Dick Francis - would have been an outrageous choice in earlier years. As it was, the press had good natured sport in reporting her consternation at how much "PD" (physical description) there was in the contemporary English novel. Her susceptibilities did not prevent Storey's very physical *Saville* from winning.

Since 1976, the Booker has had a remarkably smooth ride. There have been newsworthy events, such as Paul Scott's dying almost simultaneously with the award, but no disasters. The system, put together year by year the early 1970s, has worked well and needed no further tinkering. In the prize's second lifetime, the judges have been notably more confident, awarding the prize to the supremely famous (Murdoch, at last, and Golding) and the obscure. Booker is now securely geared into the general field of publishing, as evident in Penguin's instant reprinting coup in 1980. The NBL, after much trial and error, seem to have found the right balance between judicial correctness and promotional opportunism.

In 1981 there have been minor cavils at the ordinariness of the shortlist and a mild allegation of nepotism because the chairman of the judges, Malcolm Bradbury, once taught Ian McEwan. There was even well-rehearsed horror at Brian Aldiss's leaking of the judges' deliberations to *The Guardian*. But there has been nothing to equal the awful night of November 23, 1972 or the book trade disgust at the extraordinarily thin and alien selection of 1975.

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Why their motto ought to be 'We never close'

Charlotte Barry traces 50 years of adult education at Goldsmiths' College.

In September 1931 the Evening Literary Institute opened its doors for the first time at Goldsmiths' College in the South London area of New Cross. In spite of coming during the depression, and on the very day the government abandoned its gold standard, adult education at Goldsmiths' proved a popular venture. During the first fortnight 600 students enrolled and numbers rose to just over 1,000 before the end of the academic session.

The golden jubilee of what subsequently became the School of Adult and Social Studies at the college was celebrated in a new book written by a special research team headed by mature student Diana Seales.

"The development of evening classes stretches back a further 40 years to the founding of the Goldsmiths' Technical and Recreative Institute by the Goldsmiths' Company in 1891. With additional funds from the Charity Commissioners and the parochial charities of the City of London the company converted the building of the former Royal Naval School.

The institute was opened in July 1891 by the Prince and Princess of Wales for the "promotion of technical skills, knowledge, health, general well-being among men and women of the industrial, working-artisan class".

Its classes in English, book-keeping, foreign languages, shorthand, arithmetic, typewriting and special women's courses in ambulance, dressmaking, cookery, laundry

work and millinery bore some resemblance to the expanded programmes of the Evening Institute 40 years later.

In addition, on the recreative and social side a large number of clubs and societies flourished. The age limit was only from 16 to 30, but people over 30 were not excluded provided there were vacancies and the total number did not exceed 10 per cent of the entire membership.

During the first year more than 4,000 were enrolled; a quarter of these were women, a very high proportion at that time. By 1900 there was a part-time staff of 20 and nearly 7,000 students attracted from the surrounding area of south-east London.

In 1904 the institute became attached to the University of London and a teacher training college was set up alongside the evening classes run in conjunction with London County Council. More than 200 students entered the training department in the first year and evening classes were expanded to include chemistry, physics and maths, engineering and building, as well as day and evening art classes.

From its early days Goldsmiths' was also a centre for university extension courses. The first was a literature class at 5s 6d for ten lectures. Courses followed on history and child study and in 1906 John Cowper Powys lectured on "Selected plays of Shakespeare". This attracted 885 students with an average attendance of 440 at classes which followed the lecture, but in general response to university examinations was poor and extension teaching came temporarily to a halt in 1910.

Adult education at Goldsmiths' College finally came into its own in 1931 when the Evening Literary Institute was formed from a merger

between the LCC's Peckham and Lewisham Literary Institutes. Its purpose was "to provide non-vocational adult education, to widen knowledge, enrich leisure interests and cultivate taste and skill" in the style of the great tradition of university adult education.

The first prospectus gives a fascinating insight into the education needs of adults in the inter-war years. A common room was made available as a women's rest room and prominent among physical culture and dancing classes were three in Greek dancing. Included in science and nature study were beekeeping and wireless-radio science for the growing number of enthusiasts.

Language courses included Esperanto, and there were classes on the problems of philosophy and lectures on Greek thoughts and Attic tragedy. There were also classes on economics, industrial history, current topics, problems of industrial life, music and drama. University extension classes began again and a symphony orchestra and choir union were formed.

Student numbers, which dropped after the first year as a result of the depression, recovered by 1936 when

the Evening Students' Association was formed from among the 1,150 attending more than 70 classes.

The students were largely graduates, shop assistants, clerks, teachers, master men, retired businessmen and housewives who by now came from all over London and the Home Counties. They were attracted not only by the range of courses but also by the superior premises which, unlike other evening institutes in the area, had electric light as opposed to gas.

The outbreak of war prevented an ambitious programme of work designed by the new head of department, Ian Gulland, from getting off the ground. After 1945 growth was slow and steady, but benefited from the postwar adult education boom in London. Enrolments in 1950 totalled 3,300 (about two thirds were women) and remained at that level for the next 20 years.

During the "Ian Gulland years", as they became known, increasing emphasis was given to liberal studies (particularly languages and music) at university extra-mural level and courses for teachers. The evening department also began to provide

weekend schools in attractive surroundings which in 1955 cost 15s plus 10s for coach transport.

The change of name in 1964 to the Department of Adult Studies followed the introduction of a degree course in sociology. By 1967 there were 3,900 non-degree students and also 125 full-time and 230 part-time degree students in sociology, psychology and music. During the 1970s the School of Adult and Social Studies (as it became) added a community and youth work course for mature students; an applied social studies course for graduates; the Lee community education centre; play group leader courses; and Open University preparatory courses.

Adult education at Goldsmiths' continues to play a central role, in spite of the growth of two colleges of education. It has a champion in the warden of the college, Dr Richard Hoggart, who is also chairman of the Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education.

In the introduction to the book he says that Goldsmiths' reminds him of Soho's Windmill Theatre and its wartime boast "We never close". Dr Hoggart writes: "If you come in at twenty past eight each morning, say, you find the place cranking itself up for the arrival of well over 3,000 full-time students and a good few hundred staff. If you leave any time between 6.30 and 9.30 in the evening you find yourself threading a way through some 5,000 students who use our part-time services. There can be few university institutions which make such intensive use of their resources."



A chemistry student from the 1896-7 handbook.

The taming of chance by

The Victorians argued for social reform with facts. Ian Hacking looks at the history of data collection and its effect on state controls

Statistics is not a human science but its influence on those sciences has been immense. It has helped determine the form of laws about society and the character of social facts. It has engendered concepts and classifications within the human sciences. The collection of statistics has created a great bureaucratic machinery. It may think of itself as providing only information, but it is part of the technology of power in a modern state.

Different schools of sociology assign different roles to statistics. In the early 1830s August Comte wanted to give the name of "social mechanics" or "social physics" to his new science. But at about the same time the Belgian astronomer Adolphe Quételet took the very same name for a new statistical science of mankind. Comte always resisted this, and coined the name "sociology" just to get away from probabilities. But Quételet was a great propagandist. He organized the world statistical congresses and was even instrumental in starting the statistical section of the British Association in 1833. Today we see that Quételet triumphed over Comte; an enormously influential body of modern sociological thought takes for granted that social laws will be cast in a statistical form. It was long thought to be possible that statistical laws are epiphenomena deriving from non-statistical facts at the level of individuals. By the 1890s, Durkheim had the opposite idea, urging that social laws act from above on individuals, with the same ineluctable power as the law of gravity.

This opinion had philosophical roots. Durkheim was well versed in the debates about emergent laws in science, laws that come into being at a certain stage of evolution. Durkheim's innovation was to found his argument on the sheer regularity and stability of quantitative social facts about statistics and crime.

One name for statistics, especially in France, had been "moral science": the science of deviancy, of criminals; court convictions; suicides; prostitution; divorce. By the time that Durkheim wrote, moral science had flourished for 60 years. The great founder of modern numerical psychology, William Wundt, could say even by 1862 that statisticians had demonstrated that there are laws of love just as for all other human phenomena.

In 1891, even before Durkheim's *Selfishness*, Walter F. Willcox published his doctoral *The Divorce Problem* noting that suicide and divorce rates are correlated social indicators. During his enormously long career, Willcox was to play almost as dominant a role in American statistical sociology and the census as Quételet had once done. From the time of Quételet to that of Willcox social facts simply became facts that were statistical in character.

Many of the modern categories by which we think about people and their activities were put in place by an attempt to collect numerical data. The idea of recidivism, for example, appears when the quantitative study of crimes began in the 1820s. Thanks to medical statistics, a canonical list of causes of death was established during the nineteenth century. It is unparalleled to this day. A vast number of things taken to be important about people — having a hair, or a television, for example — are important because they define tractable data to collect. Then there is that greatest of meta-concepts, *normality*. It is no accident that Durkheim conceived that he was providing a general theory to distinguish normal from pathological states of society. In the same final decade of the nineteenth century, Karl Pearson, a founding father of biometrics, eugenics and Anglo-American statistical theory,

called the Gaussian distribution the normal curve.

It is a well known thesis of Michael Foucault's that a new kind of power emerges in the nineteenth century. In one form it is a strategic development of medicine and law. More generally he sees it as part of what he calls biopolitics. There is a certain preoccupation with bodies. The disciplines of the body that he describes in his work on the prison and on sexuality form "an entire micro-power" concerned with the body, and match up with "comprehensive measures, statistical assessments and interventions" which are aimed at the body politic, the social body.

One need not subscribe fully to this model to see that statistics of populations and of deviancy form an integral part of the industrial state. Such a politics is directly involved in capital formation through social assurance; there is what Daniel Defert calls a *technologie assurantielle* which has to do with providing a stable social order. He notes that of the two chief French funds for industrial assurance, one provided the capital for home investments while the other gave us Indo-China.

It is certainly not true that most applications of the new statistical knowledge were evil. One may suspect the ideology of the great Victorian social reformers and still grant that their great fight for sanitation, backed by statistical enquiries, was the most important single amelioration of the epoch. Without it, most of us would not exist, for our great-grand-parents would never have lived to puberty.

Statistical data do have a certain superficial neutrality between ideologies. No one used the facts collected by the factory inspectors more vigorously than Marx. Yet even Marx did not perceive how statistical bureaucracy would change the state. It is a glib but true generalization that proletarian revolutions have never occurred in any state whose essential technology was working properly. Conversely, wherever after any even partial industrialization it has failed, a revolution, either to left or right, has occurred.

When there is a radical transformation of ideas, whether by evolution or by abrupt mutation, whatever made the transformation possible leaves its mark upon subsequent reasoning. Many of what we call philosophical problems are a by-product of dim memories of our conceptual past. There is a long post-Hegelian tradition according to which a philosophical problem arises because of some unnoticed feature of our thought. In English philosophy that tradition tried to fix on historical facts about ordinary language. I guess instead that conceptual incoherence which creates philosophical perplexity is an historical incoherence between prior conditions that made a concept possible, and the concept made possible by those prior conditions. Many of the fundamental problems about probability, chance and determinism may be of this sort.

Exposing the historical ground of a problem does not make it go away. I am concerned with explanation, not therapy. This is an unusual motivation for historical studies, and the result is hardly history at all. It is a use of the past for understanding some of the incoherence in present ideas. It cannot aim at exhausting the historical material, but rather at producing an hypothesis about the relationship between concepts in their historical sites.

Such an enquiry may not be very different from George Canguilhem's early studies. Among the many respects in which he is a good model, his is deliberate limiting of questions. A philosopher is in danger of trying to survey too much. Canguilhem



shows how to fix on a definite question, say the issue of the normal and the pathological in nineteenth century medicine. One is then led into all sorts of crannies of intellectual history but instead of rambling on one is drawn back to the core from which one began.

At the end of the eighteenth century the great physicist Laplace set the tone with a classic statement of determinism. Even the smallest events happen necessarily determined by the past and by the great laws of nature. Laplace's own conception of society was set by predecessors like Turgot or Condorcet who speak of "physical necessity" or of "physical laws of nature" in the study of economics or society.

Yes, by the end of the century, the American philosopher C. S. Peirce could maintain that we live in a universe of chance, and Durkheim was telling us that there are irreducible statistical laws of society. I think transition of our categories of causality: it culminates in a metaphysical revolution. Although there had been a physical determinism has long been the entrenched view of students of nature. What events produced what we may call the erosion of determinism?

Laplace believed that probability is subjective, relative in part of our knowledge and in part of our ignorance of underlying causes. In 1800 there were some laws of a statistical nature, like the laws of mortality, but these were thought to be superficial, a summary of the facts. The reality of death was produced by

individual causes, and that reality had nothing to do with probability. By the end of the century those very causes of death were described as probabilistic in nature. Although determinism had been eroded, it was not by creating some new place for freedom, indeed we might say that the central fact is the taming of chance; where in 1800 chance had been nothing real, at the end of the century it was something real, precisely because one had found the form of laws that were to govern chance.

In 1832 Charles Babbage, often called the inventor of the computing machine, published a pamphlet urging the publication of books of numerical constants. The learned societies of Paris, Berlin and London were to take turns, every two years, in producing a list of the numbers known to mankind. Babbage had twenty kinds of numbers to be listed. They began with familiar enough material, astronomy, atomic weights, specific heats and so forth. They quickly pass to the number of feet of oak a man can saw in an hour, the volume of air needed to keep a person alive for an hour, the productive powers of men, horses, camels and steam engines compared, the relative weights of the bones of various species, the relative frequency of occurrence of letters in various languages. Most of the numbers that were to be published were new, only a decade or so old.

Between 1820 and 1840 there was an exponential increase in the number of numbers that were being published. The enthusiasm for numbers became almost universal. Nor was

an army of statistics

neglect the origins of political economy, and the work of Helvetius, Say, Smith, Bentham, Malthus or Ricardo? It was Condorcet, dead in the Terror of 1794, who got Laplace going on the probability of social matters, and who was the spiritual grandfather of Comte and Quételet alike.

The answer is that one must choose a problem. For me, as philosopher, it is indeterminism and the taming of chance. I am interested in the growth of the possibility that real chance exists and is part of the underlying structure of the world. This possibility was confirmed only with the advent of microphysics but it was recognized as a possibility in 1900 as it had never been in 1800. My hypothesis is that events after Laplace, and after Ricardo, make the doctrines of Peirce and Durkheim viable.

Is this to be a sharp break? Should one look for a rupture between a determinist world of 1800 and an indeterminist one in 1880, to suggest two likely contenders? I do not think that kind of analysis is right here. But the erosion of determinism did not happen suddenly. It was rather an almost systematic interaction of a great many events, some famous, some unnoticed. Most of the events were produced by people with clear views of what they were doing, and no thought at all for indeterminism. Chapter by chapter in the course of the story that should be told, one will find a fairly steady decrease in metaphysical determinism, but no one took any notice of it.

At the start of the nineteenth century, the model of human science was Newtonian, postulating laws in human affairs which were thought of as unequivocal and uniform. Probabilities were conceived, following Laplace, not as real facts of nature, but as representing our ignorance of true causes. The avalanche of numbers after 1820 revealed an astonishing regularity in statistics of crime, suicide, workers' sickness, epidemics, biological facts. New mathematical models were introduced to analyse these phenomena: Poisson's "law of large numbers" (1835), Quételet's persuasive application of Gauss's bell-shaped "law of errors". By 1860, statistical analyses of (for example) the suicide figures for Paris *arrondissements* were promoting a great debate about statistical determinism; it was as if statistical laws had to act on some of the individuals in a district, and thus human freedom itself was challenged. William Farr, speaking at a world statistical congress in 1860, offered a typical response. Statistics did not exclude free will, because although statistical laws determined the course of a population, we (rather than "they") could change the boundary conditions and so change the laws under which the population would evolve. (Characteristically, it was the facts of deviancy, poverty, and *les misérables* which would be changed by the wise intervention of lower level bureaucrats.)

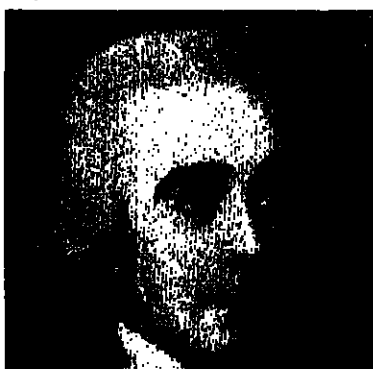
After 1860, the erosion of determinism occurs systematically in topic after topic. Maxwell and Boltzmann developed statistical mechanics, one of the great innovative ideas of physics (though Boltzmann at least was far from an avowed indeterminist). Darwin's cousin, Francis Galton, began to explain biological facts, and the phenomena of human heredity, by deducting them from the normal or Gaussian distribution. When we use a statistical law not only to predict and organize phenomena but also to explain them, chance is well on the way to being tamed. Gustav Fechner, who with Wundt is the great founder of experimental psychology, employed the normal law of error to explain why his experimental subjects misjudged, the example, relative weights; but he insisted on an absolutely deterministic law of transmission from a stimulus on the body to a sensation experienced by the mind. That was in 1860. In 1879, Ebbinghaus would commence the study of short term memory using probability curves. His thesis, as embodying intrinsic probability rather than merely extrinsic random error. As chance was tamed,

the probability in these theories acquired a completely new significance.

Almost no domain of human enquiry is left untouched by the events that I call the avalanche of numbers, the erosion of determinism and the taming of chance. Some which we now think of as obvious but minor were once of cardinal importance. Epidemiology is an instance. For half a century after the great cholera epidemic of 1832, Europeans were obsessed by fears of epidemic disease, but as the fears declined, so the very notion of an epidemic passed from a deterministic scourge to a probabilistic contagion, and much able, although localized, probabilistic reasoning was connected with this. Those who prefer a large canvas can relate the development of economic theory in terms of the introduction of chance mechanisms into causal processes.

There are a couple of instructive paradoxes here. After the avalanche of numbers, the incessant counting of social and biological facts, and the almost insanely precise measures of physical quantities, produced too many numbers to leave the Galilean and Newtonian world intact. Every one had once thought that the Newtonian laws were altogether exact, give or take this or that "perturbation". Such a claim is entirely credible in a qualitative universe where one does not in fact count or measure very much. But in a quantitative universe, exactness becomes impossible, "deviation from the mean" became the "norm". Indeterminism was about to arrive.

I found a second paradox in Ernst Cassirer, who opened my eyes to a whole range of oddities. He says that for Laplace, determinism was only a metaphor that helped him to explain that probabilities represent our ignorance rather than any objective reality. Cassirer says the modern idea of determinism is first found in a famous speech by Emil Du Bois-Reymond in 1872.



Jeremy Bentham: political economist.

Cassirer put his finger on something important although the story is complex. The word "determinism" entered German about 1789 for an idea somewhat different from any present notion, but it does get used regularly in French and English until the 1860s, when it is the rage for, among other things, posing questions of free will.

The old problem of free will had chiefly been the question of whether a person with given motives and states of mind can then choose freely, or whether choice is predetermined by mental state. But Du Bois-Reymond had, in 1847, been one of a small but influential group in Berlin that had proclaimed that the mind must be understood solely in physical terms, chemistry and electricity.

As a grand old man in 1872, he asks how to find a place for either consciousness or free will in such a scheme, given the Laplacean picture of complete physical determinism. For Laplace, who might well have been Cartesian, the necessary determination of the movement of particles need not call in question the choices of the mind, but they did for Du Bois-Reymond.

Thus Laplace was indeed a determinist, but a whole family of new problems only at the moment when determinism itself was eroded. This is a common pattern in the history of thought; an idea becomes sharply formulated, and even named, (as "determinism") at exactly the moment that it is being put under pressure.

A vast array of new and slightly mad debates about statistical determinism in the 1860s confirms the hunch that that was a time of pressure.

Historians of science distinguish internal and external history. External history is a matter of politics, economics, the funding of institutes, the circulation of journals, and all the social circumstances that are exterior to knowledge itself. Internal history is the history of individual items of knowledge, conjectures, experiments, refutations. We have no good account of the relationship between external and internal history. One might hope for some sort of Foucaultian archaeology, which would treat an anonymous discourse. That would be a theory of what is said, regardless of who said it. Or should we take quite the opposite tack, and study this or that initiator or agent, who quite knowingly brought about this or that event?

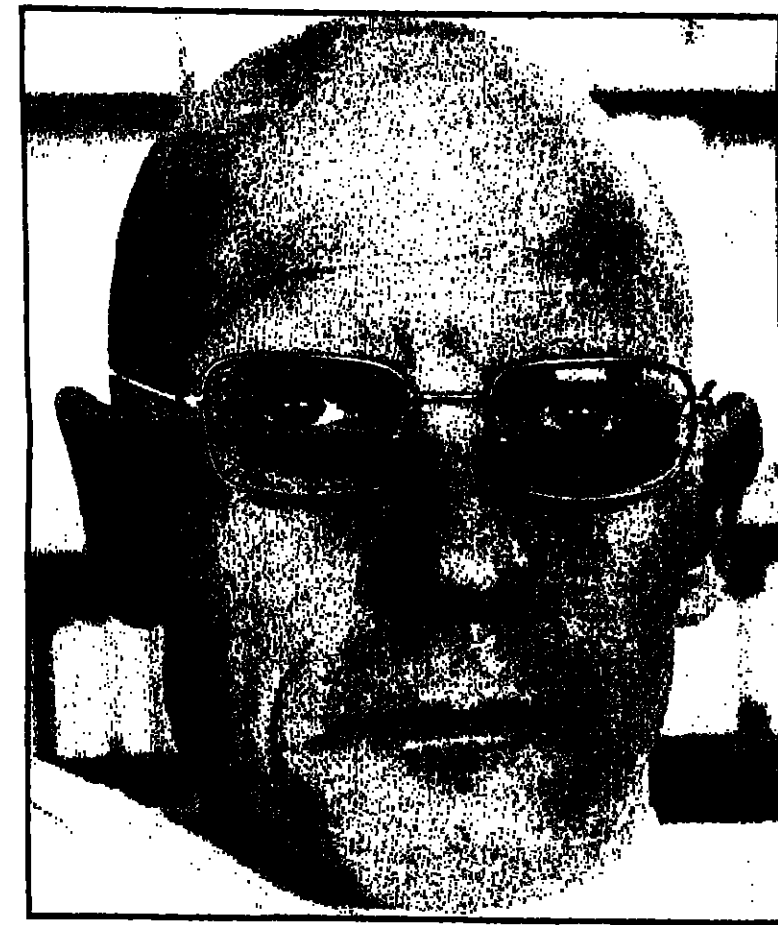
The avalanche of numbers is at least in part the result of industrialization and the influx of people from the country to the town. Many of the thought patterns for the new counting must have been set up in the Napoleonic era. We can hardly imagine that those extraordinary images about without a great echelon of quartermasters keeping track of how much of what was needed to feed, arm and equip scattered units all over Europe, Egypt and the East. There was almost always a perfectly good self-conscious reason for the vast majority of new counting. For example, assurance and annuities were of no importance for the peasant or agricultural worker. But when the extended village family was destroyed by the town, new forms of security were needed for daily labourers. We often trace quite exactly how this produced new numbers.

In England, for example, the arose hundreds of workers with assurance against sickness or death. Although mortality tables had long been known, there were actuarial difficulties everywhere. The poor died younger than the rich, but to what extent? No information about sickness was to be had.

Between 1825 and 1827 Select Committees of the House of Commons addressed themselves to the question. What are the statistical laws of sickness? Every notable statistician in Britain testified. The chief statistician for the national debt asserted there could not be such a law. Parisian authorities were consulted; they pleaded ignorance with regret. In fact, in 1824 there was one piece of data, due to the efforts of the Highland Society (which was chiefly an effective instrument of agricultural reform). Few believed it. Yet only a decade later a host of workers had found out specific laws of sickness for trades, regions and so forth. William Farr could assert that every disease has its own mathematical law of development. In short, during the period of the avalanche of numbers there was a problem for the friendly societies, of how to set premiums. It was solved in a decade by people who well knew what they were doing.

Statistics is an applied science. Naturally we find plenty of fine examples of such external history in which men and women of the world have practical problems to solve, and which they address in an intelligent way. Despite that, we have to notice something of a different order. There arose a certain style of solving practical problems by the collection of data. Nobody argued for this style; they merely found themselves practising it. One can often illustrate the emergence of a new style of reasoning by mentioning its extremes. Their very madness makes one begin to doubt that the practical people were merely pursuing an obvious and unproblematic form of enquiry.

There was a sheer fetishism for numbers. A. M. Guerry was a French lawyer whose statistical reflections on crime and suicide are of great interest. By 1832 he had unsuccessfully argued what was now called rank-ordering methods of testing statistical hypotheses. But we also



Michael Foucault's work on prisons and sexuality revealed growing state intervention in society.

find him amassing 85,564 individual case reports of suicides, each report with a guess at the motive. Between 1832 and 1864 he analysed 21,132 cases of persons accused of attempted or successful murder, and broke them down into 4,478 classes of motives. This fetishism for numbers is something more than a handy external history of people solving practical problems.

Guerry devised a series of classifications of suicides that now seem to us almost crazy, yet a good many of them became part of what the police were required to put into the formal reports. When the avalanche of numbers began, classifications multiplied because this was the form of this new kind of discourse. Even though my single new classification usually had a straightforward motivation that can be reported by the external historian, the very fact of the classifications and of the counting was internal to a new practice. We still lack a methodology for describing the emergence of a new way of talking and doing.

It is unclear how it might be possible to provide an honest analysis of this complex of issues. One ought to be faithful to details of politics, commerce and diseases, and yet at the same time recognize that politics, commerce and disease did not of themselves demand that everything in the social realm should be a question of counting.

Nothing is more anonymous than the bureaucracy of the statisticians. All the same the founders of the science imposed their personal character. Farr ran the Registrar General's office in London between 1839 and 1879. The official statistics of England and Wales served as a model for the world, and it was Farr, the man, who made it so. Quételet's Belgian census quite clearly bears the imprint of the man, Quételet. We still live in the shadows of these men. Our governments classify us, lodge us, tax us according to the systems that they began, and by law we shall die of the causes enumerated in Farr's nosology. Ought we to employ the model of Foucault's archaeology, and speak of an organization of statistical *connaissances* of the sort produced by Farr of Quételet, and at the same time postulate a *savoir* of countings that is the ground for the possibility of particular *connaissances*?

To some extent the difficulties I find are to be found in a historical approach to any of the human sciences. I shall conclude with something peculiar to my subject, although it has some relation to Foucault's

medico-legal researches. His history of the penitentiary begins with Jeremy Bentham's panopticon. The penal programmes of the Benthamites are part of a larger vision of sanitary reform and philanthropic effort by the utilitarians. Every physical change had moral intent. I would like a term less English than "utilitarian".

French hygienic reformers after Villermé are not utilitarians in the strict sense of the word, but their language and their activities are the same as the great English sanitary utilitarian, Edwin Chadwick. It is all part of a transnational industrial philosophy that marks the very beginning of statistics. One candidate for the first *oeuvre* of statistics was *The Statistical Survey of Scotland*, a twenty-one volume collection, 1791-99. The ministers of the Church of Scotland respond to detailed questionnaires about the state of their parishes. By the word statistical "Sinclair tells us that he means" an inquiry directed at the conditions of life of a country, in order to establish the quantum of happiness of the inhabitants. Neither Sinclair nor the Calvinist ministers of the Church of Scotland were Benthamites, but they were all part of a game that would establish a "calculus of felicity".

The fundamental principle of the original moral sciences was the Benthamite one: the greatest happiness to the greatest number. It was necessary to count men and women and to measure not so much their happiness as their unhappiness: their morality; their criminality; their prostitution; their divorces; their hygiene; their rate of conviction in the courts. With the advent of laws of statistics one would find the laws of love or, if not that, at least the regularities about deviancy. The erosion of determinism and the taming of chance by statistics does not introduce a new liberty.

The argument that indeterminism creates a place for free will is a hollow mockery. The bureaucracy of statistics imposes not just by creating administrative rulings but by determining classifications within which people must think of themselves and of those actions that are open to them. The hallmark of indeterminism is that cliché, information and control. The less the determinism, the more the possibilities for constraint.

The author is professor of philosophy at Stanford University, US. A version of this article appeared in *I & C* No. 8: Power and Desire: diagrams of the social.

J. H. 10.10.81

Peter Knight examines the complex system for sharing out the limited funds in the AFE Pool

Next year will see a dramatic, perhaps cataclysmic, change in the way public sector higher education is financed. There are two reasons why such a change will come about. Firstly, the financial year 1982/83 will be the year in which a fully worked system of unit costing is introduced. Secondly, all the indications are that the reduction in the size of the Advanced Further Education Pool is likely to be of a magnitude such that it will impose severe reductions on the public sector at least comparable to, if not greater than, the level of cuts that have been experienced by the universities. These two effects, the size of the quantum and the introduction of unit costing, acting together will cause spectacular changes.

The system by which the pool will be distributed to authorities and colleges by reference to unit costs has been developed over the last 18 months in the Department of Education and Science Study Group chaired by Mr Stephen Jones. Such a system became necessary the moment the Government took the political decision to predetermine the size of the pool. Before the pool was capped questions as to how it was allocated were easily solved: each authority obtained from it the amount of money that it requested. With a predetermined pool the problem that must be resolved is how it is to be distributed when the demands made upon it are substantially greater than the money the Government has chosen to make available.

There have been two years of ad hoc arrangements while a defensible system of unit funding was developed. Clearly unit funding was an attractive solution as it was able to provide some protection for those colleges that are least well funded by giving them first claim to the money in the AFE quantum and consequently taking proportionately less of any reduction in expenditure when compared with those colleges and authorities that have been generously funded. A strategy such as this tries to hold up the bottom line of standards against the effect of the reductions in expenditure. The only alternative strategy would be to reduce every institution proportionately. The result of this would almost inevitably have been to push some colleges, including perhaps some large polytechnics, below the point at which they were viable.

The system by which the pool will be distributed on a unit funding basis is as complex as any aspect of the public sector. Within this complexity are a number of occasions where political judgments have to be made which could still have a significant effect on the way in which the system operates. The basic principle of the allocation process is that the pool will be split into two components. The first component which will distribute the vast majority of the resources is called "common funding"; the second component is referred to as "further funding", and it is this that is designed to introduce an element of additional funding for those colleges that have historically had a high unit cost.

Common funding is a comparative simple idea. The number of students in a college in the three main types (art and design, laboratory-based subjects, non-laboratory subjects) are known. The numbers will be measured by reference to the returns that the colleges made in the Further Education Statistical Record (FESR) in November of 1980. An assumption will then be made to arrive at a notional student-staff ratio which will be applied nationally to each of the three types of student.

The sort of assumption will be to take the average student-staff ratios that apply to each type in question and to enhance these by a percentage. An attractive percentage to use is the 1980 average student-staff ratio plus 20 per cent. This is likely to give a position whereby few institutions would receive more money by the funding process than they had historically spent. The sorts of student-staff ratios that the average plus 20 per cent implies would be, for the polytechnics, art and design 7.4, laboratory-based subjects 9.6, non-laboratory subjects 11.2.

For an individual college the common funding would be calculated by looking at the student numbers in each faculty type in November 1980

Ratios and rations

dividing by the enhanced student-staff ratio and hence obtaining the notional number of lecturers needed to teach that number of students. Common funding would provide the salaries of those lecturers plus the national average "on-costs" in terms of equipment, non-academic staff, and supplies and services that are associated with each student type. Hence any college which had a student-staff ratio comparable to the enhanced SSR would be likely to receive almost all its budgetary requirements through the provision of common funding. This will apply to the traditionally low cost polytechnics such as Trent, Oxford, Birmingham and, perhaps, Bristol. Conversely, an institution that had a student-staff ratio substantially above average would receive through common funding only a proportion of the income which it needed to maintain its historical level of expenditure.

It is intended to set the enhanced SSRs so that there will be some money left in the pool after common funding has been allocated. The amount of money remaining depends on two factors, namely the size of the pool and the SSR enhancement that has been set for common funding. The greater the enhancement of the SSR then the greater will be the money left for further funding. Equally, the smaller the quantum the less money is left in the pool. Further funding is a portion of money squeezed from the top by the size of the quantum and from the base by the allocation to common funding. Further funding is the most politically significant aspect of the whole proposed system. The more money that is allocated to further funding then the less substantial is the impact on the institutions who traditionally have had a high unit cost. The less money that is in further funding then the more acute will be the impact of a unit funding system on high spending colleges and authorities.

The process by which further funding will be allocated is not yet completely clear. However, it is obvious that for a high cost college there will be a difference between the amount of money that it has historically spent on AFE and the amount that it has been allocated by the common funding part of the system. This shortfall could amount, in extreme circumstances, to perhaps 40 per cent of the total income of the college. The system will total up the shortfall of each college and authorities to determine the total demands being made upon the further funding system.

If these shortfalls amounted to, say, £20m, and there was £20m left to be distributed by further funding then a possible approach would be to give each claimant on further funding 33p for every pound of their shortfall (so a shortfall of £4m would yield a further

of funding allocation of £1.3m, giving a total loss of £2.7m. As can be seen, if the amount of money available in further funding is significantly less than the total demand then those colleges which are most dependent upon further funding for making up their budget will be severely hit by the impact of the funding system.

Self interest should make a high-spending college or authority press for as great a possible enhancement of the SSRs used in calculating common funding. The higher the SSR used for common funding then the more money will be left to be distributed in the further funding system. Indeed, there are ominous signs that the pool will not be large enough to support SSRs + 20 per cent for common funding. A more realistic position will be SSRs + 30 per cent, giving enhanced SSRs for common funding of art and design 8.0, laboratory-based subjects 10.4, non-laboratory subjects 12.1.

It is very easy to do "back of the envelope" calculations to see how significant the impact of this system is going to be. Crudely, if the pool is reduced between 1981/82 and 1982/83 by x per cent then the net effect of the system would be as follows. A

It is better to regard the unit funding method as a process for distributing the cut in the quantum

college which had traditionally been a low-spender would have a reduction in real terms of almost zero. A college which had had average SSRs would have a reduction of about x per cent, is a reduction compatible with the net reduction in the size of the pool. However, a college which was in the high unit cost league would be likely to have a reduction in its allocation from the pool of the order of 2-2.5x. If the reduction in the real cost of the pool was of the order of 10 per cent the impact of this particular system would not be trivial.

It is always tempting to concentrate on the financial consequences for the polytechnics just because they are an identifiable group of large colleges which account for the majority of the allocation from the pool. However, the same system will be used to provide the finance required to operate the institutes of higher education and the advanced work that is carried out in the traditional further education colleges. The intention behind the distribution mechanism is that it is to have the same effect in these colleges as in polytechnics. However, an immediate problem is that the non-

polytechnic colleges have a different profile of expenditure from that of the polytechnics. For instance, the average SSR of these colleges tends to be lower than their polytechnic counterparts, hence making their staffing costs proportionately higher. However, the additional costs for the non-academic staff component of the budget tends to be significantly lower than the polytechnics, thereby reducing the unit cost and making them more comparable to the polytechnics.

With this different pattern of expenditure it is quite likely that, in the interests of fairness, the non-polytechnic colleges will have to have lower enhanced SSRs for common funding, and perhaps, lower on-costs associated with their lecturer cost. It is also quite probable that even though the range of unit costs in the polytechnics is quite high, in excess of 60 per cent, the range of costs within the other major establishments is perhaps even higher. Therefore there will be examples of colleges that are disadvantaged by the system as they happen to be at an extreme end of the pattern of expenditure that characterizes their sector.

It is self-evident that any system of unit funding has to have a mechanism for counting students. It is in this respect that the present proposals are least adequate. There is only one generally applicable method of counting student numbers that is used in all colleges and all authorities. This is the FESR, and it has only been used as a method of furnishing statistics to the Department of Education and Science and providing some factors that are used in the calculation of rate-support grant. Its principle features are that it counts students by enrolment on courses and it counts them in a "snapshot" taken on November 1 each year. Hence a college which enrolls students after November 1 will receive no money for those students in the unit funding system. Equally, the fact that students are enrolled on a particular course may not by itself provide a good indication of the nature of that course. For example, students may be enrolled on a degree course of combined studies in science and social science, yet the system will not know how many of those students are properly classified as science and how many are regarded as social science. As the unit cost of a science student is on average 1.4 times as great as that of a social science student, problems will arise.

It is equally obvious that expenditure in institutions is related to the departments in which students are taught, not the courses upon which they are enrolled. Hence the FESR provides no information of any significant use in management terms at arriving at a system of unit cost control within a college. These inadequacies are well known and the

FESR has only been used as there is no alternative method. The survey of student numbers undertaken by the DES, commonly known as the Pooling Committee Survey, only applies to a quarter of the non-polytechnic colleges, where it is a whole year count of students, and applies to all the polytechnics where it is only a spring term count of students.

Consequently this method is not even consistent over the colleges which it samples, and it fails to sample all colleges that would be potential claimants on the pool. The total inadequacy of the FESR is recognized and work will be undertaken to ensure that some more appropriate system will be introduced in time for the financial year 1983/84.

With the introduction of any new system of financing the most immediate question is always: "Who is going to benefit; who is going to suffer?" Given the Government's stated plan for expenditure the answer to the first part of the question is easy: no one will benefit; the least well-funded colleges will merely suffer less.

It is not yet possible to calculate with any measure of confidence which institutions are likely to be worst affected as the last year for which data was available was 1979/80 and expenditure patterns may have shifted significantly in 1980/81, the first year of the capped pool. However it is quite easy to compile a brief list of factors which indicate the financial and academic characteristics of colleges that are likely to be most disadvantaged in the system.

Such a list would include: the SSR below the national average; expenditure on "non-lecturer" items, i.e. technicians, consumables, administrative and clerical staff, above the national average; expenditure maintained, or increased, in real terms between 1980/81 and 1982/83; student numbers increased less than the national average either between 1979 and 1980 or between 1980 and 1981; the college has a significant intake of students after November 1 in each academic year or has a substantial part time and short course programme not operational on that date.

These rules are a mixture of commonsense and rough justice, and it is important to remember that they come into play only as a result of the reduction in the size of the quantum. It is better to regard the unit funding system not so much as a method of allocating money, but a process by which the cut in the quantum is distributed.

It is also tempting, but misleading, to concentrate on the effect of the size of the quantum to the exclusion of all other factors. Since the capping of the pool an increasing number of authorities have been making up from rate income the pool allocation in respect of their colleges. This local contribution for AFE work was originally proposed, although in a more orderly and consistent manner, by the Oakes Committee; in the present climate it has provided a most valuable protection for some colleges against the vagaries of the pool allocation. The proposed changes in the powers of the Secretary of State for the Environment relation to local government expenditure mean that some authorities who have in the past topped up their colleges' pool allocation will face severe difficulties in continuing the practice. Ironically, this may well result in colleges that are comparatively modestly funded being adversely affected as their maintaining authority is forced to withdraw its support.

Taken in isolation the introduction of a unit funding system should be welcomed as providing a mechanism to ensure a consistent standard of resourcing across the sector and a valid comparison with the level of resources that the universities attract. In an ideal world the system would be slowly phased in over several financial years to reduce arbitrary and capricious effects. However, allocation by unit funding, when coupled with further reductions in the AFE pool and the proposed changes in the block grant to local government all occurring in a single financial year mean that the outlook for higher education is grim.

The author is a pro-assistant director of Plymouth Polytechnic and a past president of Nafhe. He writes in a personal capacity.



BOOKS

In pursuit of determinist heresy

by Adam Kuper

A History of Anthropological Thought

by E. E. Evans-Pritchard
edited by André Singer, with an introduction by Ernest Gellner
Pp. 110, 50
ISBN 0 571 11712 0

Dr Edward Evans-Pritchard used to offer a regular course of lectures at Oxford in the history of anthropological thought. He had planned a book on the subject, but when he died in 1973 it was still uncompleted. Dr André Singer, a former student, put together the present volume from what was available: five completed chapters and some drafts, cleverly filled out with passages taken from the corpus of Evans-Pritchard's writings.

There are naturally problems with this sort of book. One result here is that the commentaries are sometimes contradictory – the most spectacular example being the conflicting views set out (always in a tone of magisterial certainty) on Durkheim's theories of religion. More seriously, there are troubling omissions, if one expects "a history of anthropological thought". Had Evans-Pritchard lived, he might have filled out his sketches of Montagu, Kames and Millar in relation to Adam Smith and Ricardo. Other gaps seem to have been the consequence of a certain intellectual conservatism, most notably the neglect of German and American writers. (This leads to some startling errors, such as the claim that Malinowski was "the first anthropologist to conduct his research through the native language".)

Yet perhaps one should not approach this book as a serious history, even in conception. After all, it comprises simply a series of essays on individual writers, chosen without any immediately apparent principle, and discussed for the most part with reference to only one book each – in the case of Tylor, one article. In his introduction, Ernest Gellner suggests that Evans-Pritchard "does not write primarily as a historian, nor even as a historian of ideas, but is engaged in a living debate".

Debating with one's predecessors is a fundamentally anti-historical exercise, but in a field as slow-moving as anthropology it remains necessary. Evans-Pritchard responded as a contemporary to what his subjects had to say. He continually asks what is to be learnt, not from apparently long dead texts. Pareto's *Mind and Society*, for example, is prolix, badly arranged and shallow. "Why trouble to digest a book which is so bad?" Pareto tried to solve a number of genuine problems, and we can learn as much from his failure as from his success.

But Gellner is less persuasive when he suggests that the Evans-Pritchard who is the interlocutor here was a sceptical, undogmatic, eclectic scholar; the sort of person one would choose to interrogate the past for our instruction. Gellner can discern "no Evans-Pritchardian position, let alone dogma". He agrees with my view that there was a definite break in Evans-Pritchard's career, a shift from the essentially Radcliffe-Brownian sociology which informed some of his best known studies, but he represents the later Evans-Pritchard as being beyond ideology, above the battle. I think he is mistaken. Despite its incompleteness and occasional incoherence, this book is informed by a dogma which produces the most doctrinaire, intolerant, and unhistorical judgments.

André Singer puts the reader on the right track in his editorial preface, remarking that Evans-Pritchard "held very definite and well-considered views about the development of 'social anthropology', and during a powerful fragment in which Evans-Pritchard summed up his view of this development:

For at least 250 years people have been asserting that social phenomena can and should be studied through the same methods as those which had proved so successful in the physical and organic sciences, though of course with different techniques. Laws would then be established which would have the generality of those of the laboratory sciences... There could then be an applied science of man... To attain the ends sought only one method could be employed, the comparative method. It had not yielded the results hoped for.

This view (familiar to readers of Evans-Pritchard) informs the discussion of his chosen texts. The proto-anthropologists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were almost all seduced by the chimera of a natural science of society, although Evans-Pritchard admits that other hours were about, including a very successful Indo-European historical linguistics, which turned the heads of some. Inspired by these vaguely delineated natural sciences, the early anthropologists tried to reconstruct stages of human history. Material causes were usually invoked to explain the movement from one stage to the next. The Scottish writers, for example, all derived culture and social organization from a mode of production. Believing that they had formulated laws of history, the early anthropologists concluded that they could speed things along, and that they should help to sweep away outmoded creeds or social forms.

Their usual method was some form of comparison. Evans-Pritchard argues that there is in fact no alternative, and that the problem lay less in the method itself than in its abuse, by way of uncritical use of sources, failure to examine negative instances, and careless reasoning. Montagu, Kames and Millar, for example, engaged in genuinely scholarly comparison, and their conclusions are still often acceptable. But in general, where the data were unreliable and the comparisons critical and painstaking, the grand historical schemes crumbled.

Evolutionist theories were eventually abandoned because it turned out there was no way of adducing evidence on origins. But even where grand historical models were abandoned, anthropology was not purged of error. Evolutionism was only an example of the more general heresies that material circumstances and determined social structure, that social structure determined cultural

life, that man's intellectual history was characterized by progress towards increasing rationality.

The history of anthropological thought (in Evans-Pritchard's hands) exposes the futility of any attempt to treat society as a natural system rather than as a moral order. It is hopeless to seek laws of social behaviour, of social progress. Man's behaviour is not determined by social and material forces. His spiritual life is to a significant degree independent of social and material circumstances, and in this sphere there is no progress.

This is the negative side of the thesis. More positive formulations appear from time to time, indirectly in the praise meted out to the non-determinists, such as Montagu, Maine and Lévy-Bruhl. Lévy-Bruhl is praised for allowing a real autonomy to primitive thought, and his speculative interpretations and evolutionist assumptions are gently handled. But one has to look elsewhere for a direct expression of the faith which inspired Evans-Pritchard's historiography.

Evans-Pritchard made his ideological commitment most clear in his Aquinas lecture, "Religion and the Anthropologists", delivered in 1959. He concluded that "sociological determinism and the teaching of Jesus are irreconcilable". He had himself been a sociological determinist of the Durkheimian sort prior to his conversion to Catholicism in 1944, but the later Evans-Pritchard was relentless in his pursuit of this heresy. The Aquinas lecture reviewed in a few pages much the same ground as he covered at greater length in his historical lectures, and his condensed judgments have a ferocity and clarity which are especially enlightening.

In this lecture Evans-Pritchard identified two founding fathers, Montagu and the reasonable man Lévy-Bruhl, although in outward matters he remained a loyal son of the Church, and Saint-Simon, "whose followers may be regarded as the precursors of totalitarian philosophy, heralds of the Fascist, Nazi, and Communist forms of society... a great believer in social laws, in progress, in social planning and the regeneration of mankind; and it is hardly necessary to add that he was an anti-clerical and a Deist."

He and his disciple Comte ("under even than Saint-Simon and Fourier") advanced their own sociological religion, in which society was the object of worship. Here heresy came into the open with a vengeance: "for

Comte we exist only in the Great Being humanity, in whom our little separate beings are merged, and in which... we are immortal... This was Comte's positivist conception of the Church Militant, the Church Suffering... and the Church Triumphant... the individual for Comte is an abstraction. Society, in the widest sense of humanity, is the reality."

Having set up this Manichean opposition, the heroes and villains slot into place. All the early anthropologists were agnostics, and most were fanatically anti-religious. The baddies are lumped together. Durkheim is associated with Saint-Simon and Comte, and often with the Marxists. He was "an evolutionary fanatic who wished to explain social phenomena in terms of pseudohistorical origins". Radcliffe-Brown was a Durkheimian and his "views about the relation of sociology to history... were those of Comte and of the Marxist theorists".

Who were these evil men? It appears that their sociological theories were to a profound extent determined by their social origins. In Britain these ideas were particularly attractive to Dissenters, such as Spencer, Darwin and Tylor, of whom Evans-Pritchard made the fantastic claim that "two may believe that their animosity to revealed religion was not inspired solely by love of truth but was also a reaction to the dreariness of their religious upbringing". Their ideas were also informed by class animosities. They had been spurned by the Establishment, as was another group disproportionately represented among the sociologists. Evans-Pritchard also identified the latter group in his Aquinas lecture. They were the people "whom that anecdotal writer Mr Montagu Williams, QC, calls 'men of Eastern origin', or 'very polished gentlemen as far as greaves went'". In other words, the Jews, prominent in France in the circle around Durkheim.

It is at first sight remarkable how ambivalent Evans-Pritchard is towards this group. When he praises Lévy-Bruhl he tries to detach him from the *Année* writers, but at other times he admits he was "close to the Durkheimians". He is capable of the most venomous abuse of Durkheim, whom he sometimes denounces for equating religion and society; but elsewhere he quotes with approval Peristiany's judgment that for Durkheim "society itself is a system of development, in which society is neither an epiphenomenon of social morphology nor an organ devised to satisfy

material needs". In part this ambivalence is probably a residue of Evans-Pritchard's never fully accomplished conversion from Durkheimian sociology. His own analysis is, however, intensely revealing of his dogmas and prejudices.

Evans-Pritchard pretends to see two sources for the ideas of the *Année* school:

A study might be made of this group of French intellectuals, not only the sociologists but Bergson, Proust, and many others, in relation to their dual Jewish rationalist upbringing and Catholic background. Considering that the sociologists among them were agnostics or atheists who believed in some kind of secular non-Comtean religion of humanity or ritualized system of ethics, it might be thought that they would have considered religious subjects not worthy of their first attention. But they had too great an understanding of religion, and they were rationalists too sceptical of rationalism, to take that view...

He goes on directly to derive what he finds of value in their work from their contact with Catholicism. Specifically, he draws attention to Durkheim's

almost obsessive interest in religion and especially his fascination with the idea of *Ecclesia*, to the probability that Mauss's interest in sacrifice began with a like fascination with the drama of the Sacrifice of the Mass, and with his interest in prayer (his unfinished essay) according to Catholic manuals; and to the origin of Hertz's planned great study of sin and pardon which, he makes it very clear, was his deep interest in the Sacrament of Auricular Confession.

But if Durkheim's exposure to Catholicism gave him some takings of the truth, his errors could be traced to other sources. Evans-Pritchard rejects his distinction between the sacred and the profane. "I think that Durkheim was here generalizing from his own Semitic background". Even worse:

Durkheim was a militant atheist, not just an unbeliever but a propagandist for unbelief. Religion therefore presented a challenge to him. He had to find some sort of explanation of what is a universal phenomenon in both time and space, and could only do so in terms of the sociological metaphysics to which he had irretrievably committed himself.

One may perhaps find elements of Evans-Pritchard's historiography acceptable, without sharing his religious inspiration and his various prejudices. I think, though, that this would not be easy. The Manichean antitheses destroy all nuances, consume historical and philosophical particularities. Moreover, it would be difficult to sustain this crude viewpoint if other key theorists were brought into consideration: Boas and Kroeber in America, for example, or the true heir of the *Année* school, Lévi-Strauss.

Evans-Pritchard never rested from the good fight, once he had definitively decided what it was. When Sir Edmund Leach was elected a Fellow of the British Academy, he resigned his own Fellowship, and logically enough. Here was the enemy in full view: a militant atheist, who treated the Bible as primitive mythology and, in his Reith lectures, had peddled rationalist and radical hope for social progress.

I prefer the sort of scholar described by Gellner in his introduction: "Not... a prophet, but rather an intellectually restless, over-questing, sceptical Hamlet". This is, however, a very misleading characterization of Evans-Pritchard.

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BOOKS

Balkan questions

Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence
edited by Richard Clogg
Macmillan, £15.00
ISBN 0 231 05098 4

The Balkan Revolutionary Tradition
by Dimitrije Djordjevic and Stephen Fischer-Galati
Columbia University Press, \$26.00
ISBN 0 231 05098 4

These two books differ sharply in their nature and scholarly value. Dr Clogg has edited a collection of valuable and interesting papers first given at contributions to a symposium organized at King's College in October 1977 to mark the 150th anniversary of the battle of Navarino. As always with collections of this kind, the component parts vary a good deal in scope and quality. The volume as a whole, however, provides a convincing survey of society in the different areas of the Balkan peninsula in the last years of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth. Greece, inevitably, has pride of place. Of the 10 essays which make up the book six deal with different aspects of its society and intellectual life. Serbia, Bulgaria, the Danubian Principalities and even Montenegro, however, each receive attention in one contribution by an expert; only Albania is missing, perhaps because of the difficulty of finding anyone competent to deal with so esoteric a subject.

Several essays deserve individual mention. Both Yannis Yannouloupoulos, in a challenging analysis of Greek society on the eve of independence, and the editor, in a very interesting discussion of the intellectual and political significance of the merchant class both within Greece and in the west-European diaspora, emphasize the backwardness and provincialism which still pervaded much Greek life in this age. Dr Yannouloupoulos argues convincingly that capitalist forces, and even conditions favouring the emergence of genuine capitalism, were much weaker and less effective than has been assumed: in particular, the growth of the Greek merchant marine, so often put forward as an agent of change, was less striking and important than has usually been thought.

Mr Clogg for his part shows that the intellectual attitudes and assumptions of Greek merchants were a good deal more confused and ambiguous than has hitherto been assumed. It now seems clear that it is a serious oversimplification to regard even merchants with extensive experience of western Europe merely as a progressive, modernizing force and as invariably helping forward ideas of political liberty and national independence.

In a relatively detailed discussion of the Greek intelligentsia during this period, Dr Peter Mackridge well conveys the extent of Greek cultural leadership of most of the Balkan peninsula and also the important fact that this leadership was for the most part willingly accepted; as yet cultural and linguistic nationalism in the non-Greek areas was embryonic and hardly visible. In this contribution again it is traditionalism, a lack of modernity and of many of the assumptions and values which were beginning to dominate western Europe, which is illustrated.

Of the contributions which deal with areas other than Greece the longest, and also the most technical and difficult, is the treatment of Bulgarian society by Dr R. J. Crampton. This is a remarkably thorough piece of work; and like all the essays in this volume it makes available to the English reader the result of a great deal of recent research otherwise available only in relatively esoteric languages. It is the only real discussion of its subject in English; and this is equally true of the briefer treatment by the late Dr Alan Ferguson of the anarchic and

self-absorbed society of Montenegro. This volume therefore makes a real contribution to knowledge in an area where scholarly writing in western languages is scanty or non-existent. By contrast the book by Djordjevic and Fischer-Galati is disappointing. It suffers from the crippling defect of having a poorly defined subject and thus a general lack of focus and structure. The authors have not decided what they mean by revolution, as opposed to mere revolt, conspiracy or subversion. Much of the book thus becomes a rather miscellaneous listing and brief description of a great variety of dissident movements from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, usually directed against Turkish rule (but by the later nineteenth century increasingly aimed by the emerging Balkan states against each other). In what sense, to take only one example, can Michael the Brave, Hospodar of Wallachia in the 1590s, be regarded as a revolutionary? He was not a nationalist and was certainly no supporter of social revolution (it was during his reign, as the authors point out, that serfdom was legalized in the principality). A whole series of influences which affected the process of violent and disruptive change in the Balkans — urbanization, or the contribution of émigré groups in western Europe, for example — need more systematic discussion than they are given here. Nor is it clear why the book ends, apart from a short epilogue, in 1914, when genuinely revolutionary forces were beginning to be for the first time of some significance in Balkan history.

M. S. Anderson

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Genuine zeal

The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury
by Geoffrey B.A.M. Finlayson
Eyre Methuen, £19.50
ISBN 0 413 28200 7

In recent years we have seen the publication of a series of major biographies of "eminent Victorians". In most cases the modern studies now available have corrected and improved upon impressions previously entertained, sometimes in a marked degree. This is the case with the *Disraeli* of Lord Blake and the *Peel* of Professor Gash; it is also true of the *Shaftesbury* now presented to us by Geoffrey Finlayson.

A pointer to the re-interpretation of Shaftesbury's life came in 1964, in a short but illuminating study by Professor G.F.A. Best. But now the process has been carried a good deal further. This new book represents the fruit of long and patient research into a mass of detailed evidence, and a parallel intellectual effort to appreciate the character and the career of an individual of a kind not easily penetrable by our generation. The interpretation offered is supported by a full and carefully marshalled body of evidence.

The seventh Earl of Shaftesbury never held any great ministerial office, he achieved no literary or scientific eminence, yet his name, and something of his career, are much more widely known than, say, Sir James Graham or Sir George Grey, Mrs Gaskell, John Ruskin or John Dalton. Nor is this merely the work of hagiography after his death, for during most of his life his own society conceded to him an unusual eminence. It is of course true that he was born into a position which necessarily entailed some prominence, patrimony. Yet many of the Victorian aristocracy, including some born to greater names and greater wealth, never attained to anything like his fame.

Moreover, if he was born to a silver spoon, it was not one filled with honey, for the attitude of the sixth Earl and his lady towards their children was the reverse of indulgent. The young Lord Ashley's feelings towards his parents were pungently expressed in letters to



The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, a painting by John Collier, 1877.

sympathetic friends —

Here are the consequences of a Mother's dereliction of her children. How dreadful they are you will never learn by experience or imagine. Your own feelings are so vivid, so maternal, and so ardent towards your offspring, that you almost doubt my assertion that such unnatural, such deeply horrid examples are found in a human and a Christian soul.

Also, of his father — As to friendship between him and me, years of Experience had sufficiently proved that outward civility and only civility is the utmost that can be looked for. His whole pleasure is in finding fault; he often abuses them and censures...

Nor was this a case of the young heir being disliked while others of the children were favoured, for the parents appear to have applied such harsh treatment impartially. When a younger son was killed in a fight at Eton in 1825, neither the father, life Shaftesbury still held acute memories of this early unhappiness, and of the:

very great severity, moral and physical, in respect both of mind and body, the opinion of our parents being that, to render a child obedient, it should be in a constant fear of its father and mother. Ashley's early schooling seems to have been of a similar nature, and he noted of his first school at Chiswick that:

Nothing could have surpassed it for filial, bullying, neglect, and hard treatment of every sort.

Harrow was at least rather better than this, but Shaftesbury's formative years were certainly not spent in an aristocratic idyll. His personal life improved markedly after his marriage to Lady Emily Cowper in 1830, but this change came when he was already 29 years old, with many of his characteristics already crystallized.

The portrait offered by Mr Finlayson is very much of a "warts and all" nature, and there is ample illustration here of those of Shaftesbury's traits which were to impede his relationships throughout his life. He was easily given to self-pity, quick to recognize and distinguish his own faults, and indeed the unlikely elements in his complex character; however, balanced by other ingredients, such as generosity, sincerity and genuine zeal for good works, which go far to explain the remarkable tolerance and consideration which he received, even at the hands of some people not always distinguished for such qualities. For example, as in the case of the young Gladstone, Peel displayed notable patience and restraint in dealing with a difficult, younger man, though the

reception of this kindness by Ashley could be less than grateful, in private at least. During the formation of Peel's first government Ashley agonized to himself and to others over his own unfitness for responsible office, yet privately complained of the lowliness of the post offered to him — "What a humiliation for an ambitious man!" This kind of contradictory and potentially irritating behaviour recurred time and again during Shaftesbury's career, and he also exhibited a capacity for forgetting earlier favours if subsequent conflicts were encountered. Consider the contrast between these two opinions on Peel: the first is during the ministerial appointments late in 1834: "My business and duty... are to serve him, in his way, not my own; and since he is willing to bear the responsibility of having appointed me to an active situation and is kind enough to say that I can really contribute something to his aid, I am perfectly ready, however conscious of my own weakness, to undertake the charge he has been pleased to assign me. Eight years later, with Peel opposing Ashley on the factory question, the position was very different, for then Peel:

assumed the tone of a low, mercantile, fustian soul, incapable of conceiving or urging a principle, which finally disgusted me, and placed him in my mind much below the Christian level, and not any higher than the heathen. It passed again and again through my heart, I will never serve under such a fellow as you!

From the other side of the political fence, and in the great Whig household into which he had married, Ashley received comparable kindness and indulgence. This did not prevent him from privately recording some grudging sentiments about house parties at Broadlands when he was a guest there. "What wasters of time... killers of precious moments... ravagers of systematic habits... We is me, that I am constrained to dwell in the ten(p)s of Kedar."

From time to time similar situations arose in Ashley's relations with various groups of social reformers. In November 1849, for example, there were divisions within the ranks of factory reformers, and Ashley noted in his diary that Oastler and a crew of others... are denouncing and reviling me in every society, by day and by night, in speech and on paper, as a traitor, and a thousand other things, to the Ten House Bill. God knows my sincerity, my labours, vexations, losses, and position in that cause.

While Mr Finlayson deals effectively with the less appealing aspects of his subject, this is in no sense a de-bunking biography but rather a balanced one. These explorations of Shaftesbury's weaknesses are match-

ed by an equally perceptive account of his personal faith and of his work as a social reformer. It is not easy to interpret the kind of evangelical fervour which provided one of the main springs to Shaftesbury's actions, but Mr Finlayson provides ample illustration of its nature. We see Ashley's determination to:

stand by that which alone was the pillar and the ground of the truth — the Bible, the whole Bible and nothing but the Bible.

After a parliamentary victory over the forces of evil, during the debates on factory reform in the early 1840s, he prayed:

Oh gracious God, keep me from unseemly exultation, that I may creep along by the ground to this honour and to the recovery of the people from Egyptian bondage.

Ashley's fervent support for the establishment of a Protestant bishopric of Jerusalem, his fears that Jesuits might obtain control of other boroughs or that a general Catholic conspiracy might overthrow all of the Protestant thrones of Europe, appeared absurd to some contemporaries and to many much later, but he was very far from alone in these beliefs. A few years ago in *The Call to Seriousness* Ian Bradley demonstrated the extent of evangelical fervour within the aristocracy, while Maynooth and the Papal Aggression showed that such feelings stretched over wide reaches of early Victorian society.

The consequences of Shaftesbury's deep, if somewhat uncritical, evangelical faith were by no means all absurd, for he also believed that Christianity entailed a care for the weak, and that horrible social conditions prevented the victims from coming to know their God as they ought. There were few, if any, in early Victorian Britain who did more to translate such beliefs into action. We need not doubt that in his prominence in the social reforming movements of the day Shaftesbury found consolation for his failure to make a powerful mark in the more orthodox political world — indeed that he well persuaded himself that he had sacrificed political eminence for social duty — but it is equally plain that any such simplistic explanation for his reforming involvement will not do. His crusading zeal was a genuine personal commitment, while most of his aristocratic confrères adopted different priorities.

The causes which he embraced, apart from those more narrowly religious in nature, included factory and mines reform, the care of lunatics, the suppression of slavery and the opium trade, education of the poor, the improvement of public health, the welfare of groups like chimney sweeps and coster-mongers; to all of these causes, and more, he brought the help and the firm commitment of someone born to a position of affluence and high status. He was not always the most effective administrator in the case of his own possessions as well as in more public concerns — but he chose to deploy his energies primarily in the service of his God and the consequent service of those in need.

In a book of well over 600 pages there is a very small count of errors of detail. At one point a Duke of Marlborough is demoted to a marquis, at another we have Chillingham instead of Chillingham Castle. The 1834 attempt to reduce outdoor relief appears without the crucial addition of "to the able-bodied" and it is a little too terse to explain that the Whigs "felt obliged to advise a dissolution of Parliament". Yet a number of minor derelictions of this kind must be accounted both trivial and venial in relation to the very considerable merit which this book possesses.

Perhaps its greatest strength is its comprehensive coverage of a character which was difficult, complex and even contradictory. Flawed though his personality may have been, the overall conclusion must be a stronger claim than the Earl of Beaconsfield to be numbered on the side of the angels.

Norman McCord

Norman McCord is professor of social history at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

BOOKS

Japanese school for protest

Environmental Protest and Citizen Politics in Japan
by Margaret A. McKean
University of California Press, £17.00
ISBN 0 520 04115 1

In 1953 a new and alarming disease appeared among some cats and dogs in Japan. It was discovered that the afflicted animals had eaten large quantities of discarded fish taken from Minamata Bay. A Dr Hosokawa, employed by a chemical firm, the Chisso Corporation, had discovered that the cause of the disease was methyl mercury and that the source of the mercury was the waste discharges from the Chisso Corporation; moreover, the symptoms were identical with those of human victims who had eaten fish from Minamata Bay.

Both the Chisso Corporation and the fishermen were enraged by this discovery. The fishermen demanded compensation from the chemical firm; their demand was resisted and the fishermen stormed the corporation's office. The rest of the story is common knowledge: lawsuits, denial of responsibility by the Chisso Corporation; final capitulation by the corporation; final capitulation by the government; and finally, in 1979, a criminal conviction against two executives of Chisso and a jail sentence for them.

The Minamata disease is only one of the publicized pollution scandals reported from Japan. We know that air pollution in the cities has been as bad as anywhere in the world — commuters in Tokyo carrying gas masks — and we have read that in the 1970s the government conducted a vigorous campaign to clean up the environment, and that this campaign had been successful. But we have had to rely on secondary sources of information for all this, and most of us are ignorant of the politics of pollution control in Japan.

We no longer need to be ignorant. Margaret McKean has written a sober and scholarly account of this remarkable episode in Japan's recent political history, based on her own experience and a thorough study of Japanese sources. And what a readable story it is! In 1947 an American-style democratic constitution was imposed on Japan. Would it last? The political soil (so to speak) was not favourable. There was a tradition of respect for authority, to challenge government policy was regarded as bad manners. The only form of protest was to present obsequious petitions.

Margaret McKean's theme is that the Japanese people have learnt the techniques of democratic participation by making a common cause with the environment. Industry (as we know to our cost) has grown faster and faster elsewhere in the postwar world. Government has been on the scene from the secondary effects of the exploitation of air and water without responsibility for the public interest.

Slowly, apologetically at first, the public interest was mobilized. Successful court cases, with substantial damages, brought both government and industry to their senses, and encouraged citizen-groups all over the country to insist on a policy of repair for damage already done and prevention for the future.

Development, some six million Japanese, belong to anti-pollution groups of one sort or another. The typical "joiner" is middle-aged and middle class: one of many surprises in this book is the evidence that students and young people generally have not taken a major part in conservation movements. Indeed they have not even been welcomed by the leaders of

these movements. Also the typical "joiner" is not in favour of militant tactics — sit-ins, acts of vandalism and the like. The petition is still the most popular tool to use, together with the ballot box in local elections. Another peculiarity about the protest movements in Japan is the reluctance to lobby politicians, though this is changing, and local pressure groups have scored some notable successes.

The most striking contrast between the pattern of environmental protest in Japan and in Britain or the United States is in its implicit purpose. The Friends of the Earth, the Conservation Society, the Sierra Club in America: these are national movements whose concern is primarily to protect Nature against exploitation by Man. Japanese environmental movements exist primarily (so I gather from this book) to protect Man. They are generally local, concerned with a specific threat to the environment, and their leaders are satisfied with a pragmatic, local, solution to the hazard. Margaret McKean notes that this very narrow and empirical attitude to environmental hazards has its virtues: it has resulted in a dramatic improvement in the air and water in Japan. She contrasts this with some American legislation, which she applauds as having "a clearer vision of the extensive social changes involved in comprehensive solutions". But, as a result, Americans flounder at the enormity of the task, creating stringent environmental legislation... only to roll back, postpone, and create loopholes later. It is a criticism which could also be levelled against the British government, which passed the Control of Pollution Act seven years ago and has not yet implemented some of its important sections.

This densely packed book puts on record a political experience from which the British and Americans have much to learn and it brings within reach a mass of information about politics in Japan. No library should be without it.

Eric Ashby

Lord Ashby is Chancellor of the Queen's University, Belfast, and a fellow of Clare College, Cambridge.

Prehistoric farming

The Agrarian History of England and Wales
Volume I, Part 1: Prehistory
edited by Stuart Pigott
Cambridge University Press, £27.50
ISBN 0 521 08741 4

The Cambridge Agrarian History of England and Wales has Dr Joan Thirk, reader in economic history at the University of Oxford, as its general editor and is planned in eight volumes. The eighth, dealing with 1914-39, by Edith Whetham, has already been published, and so has part II of volume I, which covered A.D. 43-1042 and was edited by the late Professor H. P. R. Finberg. Now we have part I of volume I, dealing with prehistory. Professor Finberg, who took an active part in the earlier stages of this new book, explained in the preface to his own book that the historians for the period A.D. 42-1042 "left the prehistorians behind, but not, we hope, too far behind", and so their contributions were published first.

The present volume, "after various vicissitudes" to quote Dr Thirk, now appears under the editorship of Stuart Pigott but with a preface by him and Peter Fowler. It covers the period from the beginnings of British agriculture in the late fifth millennium B.C. to the eve of the Roman Conquest.

Pigott himself in 60 pages deals with early prehistory; Fowler in 220 pages deals with later prehistory, defined as "from the appearance in the archaeological record of types of pottery which archaeologists call 'Beaker pottery' to the Romans". Fowler overlaps a little with part II of volume I and declares he is covering "the period of exactly 2000 years from 1900 B.C. to A.D. 100". (It he

had not been so uncertain about his use of carbon-14 dates he would have realized that the period is 2,500 years.)

There is also a survey of some 100 pages on the history of livestock in southern Britain from prehistory to A.D. 1042, which Dr M. L. Ryder, wrote in 1969-70. And four appendices provide a selection of carbon-14 dates, a note on the terminology of "Celtic" fields, a discussion on early field systems in the Isles of Scilly, and an essay on settlement, economy, ancient fields and land allotment, briefly discussing the two conferences held in 1976 on early British agriculture, the first in Newcastle upon Tyne and the second in Bristol.

The present book deals with sources up to the mid-70s — Fowler's section is actually dated May Day 1978, and has not, very understandably, been able to utilize the papers of the two Newcastle and Bristol conferences published in British Archaeological Reports 33 and 48, the first edited by Colin Burgess and Roger Miket entitled *Settlement and Economy in the Third and Second Millennium B.C.* (Oxford, 1976) and the second, edited by H. C. Bowen and P. J. Fowler called *Early Land Allotment* (Oxford, 1978). These two books, and the present volume, present a trilogy centred on the mid-1970s which provides an invaluable basis for all future work on the agrarian prehistory of southern Britain.

Pigott is particularly good on the Neolithic *landons* and the logistics of the wood required for building long barrows and henge monuments, and makes interesting comments on the Iversen clearance experiment in the Draved forest of South Jutland. He uses, with great facility, ethnographical parallels to illuminate his story — and particularly those from North America. He summarizes admirably our present knowledge of the clearance of woodland in Britain and reminds us that the poet Edmund Waller once posed the question at a meeting of the Royal Society "whether Salisbury plains were always plained". John Aubrey had made ethnographical parallels between the Ancient Britons and the Indians of North America where he said, "plains were there made by firing the woods to sow corn" and asked: "Who knows but Salisbury plains etc might be made long time ago, after this manner, and for the same reason?"

Fowler gives us first an interesting essay on the peopling of Britain in the last two millennia B.C., but his assertion that throughout this period the Ancient Britons were "basically of Indo-European stock" and his reference to the Celts as a "race", will not be widely accepted by informed scholars of language and physical anthropology. No one will cavil, however, at his valuable and comprehensive survey of settlement sites and their distribution, and of ancient agrarian techniques and technology.

Ryder provides a summary of British husbandry in the successive archaeological periods, and then takes us through the history in this country of individual livestock species, from goats and sheep to hens; geese, ducks, pigeons, and the honey bee. As always, his writing is full of strange and rare information; his section on autumn killing and winter feeding is fascinating and so is his account of animal products from ghee to kumis and yoghurt.

The authors are naturally distressed that this book has been so long being printed and published: Ryder is particularly unhappy that it is now ten years since his chapters were accepted by Finberg in January 1971. Pigott and Fowler say that they "share a realistic despondency with others that, however plausible our model, it is no longer possible in fact to reconstruct any more the certain aspects of agrarian life in later prehistoric Britain". We are all painfully aware of the limitations of archaeological evidence and the difficulties of its interpretation; within these limits no one could have done better than these three authors to surmount its difficulties.

Glyn Daniel

Glyn Daniel is Emeritus Disney Professor of Archaeology at the University of Cambridge.

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BOOKS

Aspects of suggestion

Imagination and Language: collected essays on Constant, Baudelaire, Nerval and Flaubert by Alison Fairlie
Cambridge University Press, £30.00
ISBN 0 521 23291 0

In this country Alison Fairlie and French literature of her specialist period have, since 1960, become inseparable in the minds of undergraduates and compilers of examination questions alike. To many, therefore, the contents of this collection of writings previously dispersed in journals and presentation volumes will already be familiar. It contains almost all but the most recent of her published articles and papers and just one new piece: a conference paper entitled "Aspects of suggestion in Nerval".

The special characteristics of Professor Fairlie's work are evident throughout: her professionalism, her modesty, her succinct and lucid style in both English and French, her eye for significant detail, her alertness to ambiguity and irony, her generosity towards other critics, and her ability to speak simultaneously to the novice and her fellow-scholars. Her titles may only promise tentative remarks but invariably her critical judgments seem so sure that they assume the solidity of facts. She concentrates on what is most remarkable in her authors' achievements, though to that end she often brings into play unfamiliar material. Her study of the variants in successive versions of a poem by Baudelaire, for example, never sacrifices a vision of the poet's creative imagination to a display of erudition for its own sake. She practices self-effacement before the text but only so that the latter can then elicit all her responses as an imaginative and cooperative reader. "Suggestion" is a key word in her critical vocabulary and her exploration of the ways meaning is produced other than by explicit statement enriches our understanding of all the works she discusses. More than one reader will find chastening her quiet correction of his own premature conclusions.

In recent years her authors have attracted a staggering amount of critical discussion, including some excellent examples of *la nouvelle critique*. It is perhaps easy to forget that the earliest of Professor Fairlie's essays had to break much new ground. The essays on Constant's *Adolphe* were written against a background of criticism that was more often than not biographical, and she knew her English readers were often hampered by a critical tradition that emphasized the "direct expression of moral or social significance". There had also been few attempts before 1961 to see Nerval as a mainstream creative writer. At the same time, when read together in a single volume, these essays reveal just how personal an enterprise her work has been. Significantly, she writes only of what she admires.

Readers will doubtless differ in their preferences. To my mind, the finest pieces are those on Flaubert: one has the impression of two kindred beings, so firmly does she enter into the spirit of Flaubert's ambitions. Novelist and critic display the same complex interplay of intellect and sensibility. In contrast, the essays on Baudelaire's prose poems – more obviously of an introductory nature – are a little disappointing. Only extended analysis of a single prose poem could bring out the way the varied linguistic effects are orchestrated.

Yet when all is said and done, collected essays, even when they are of the quality of those in *Imagination and Language*, are bound to leave the reader dissatisfied. Professor Fairlie herself is constantly aware that she is opening up more new and interesting areas than she can possibly examine in detail. Many of her subjects invite book-length studies along the lines she adopts. Let us



Charles Baudelaire, photographed by Etienne Carjat.

hope that as the demands made by presentation volumes and centennial conferences slacken off, she will find time in her retirement to give us at least one of these books. Perhaps the obvious choice is Constant. Three of the essays on *Adolphe* already belong together and Professor Fairlie's opening remarks show how her discussion could usefully be broadened against a background of Constant's other writings.

The high standard of accuracy in this elegant volume is a tribute to all concerned. The few trivial misprints are mainly in the bibliography.

Michael Tilby

Michael Tilby is fellow in French of Selwyn College, Cambridge.

Careful patterning

Modern Drama in Theory and Practice
volume one: Realism and Naturalism
volume two: Symbolism, Surrealism and the Absurd
volume three: Expressionism and Epic Theatre
by J. L. Styan
Cambridge University Press, £12.50 per volume
ISBN 0 521 22731 2; 22738 0 and 22739 9; 23068 3 (the set)

At an early stage in his synoptic account of modern drama, Professor Styan touches briefly on the nature of the *pièce bien faite*. He comments on its "iron-clad formula", and remarks how the term eventually became synonymous with a mechanical way of writing which placed a heavy emphasis on an efficient plot and a satisfied box office. "Yet it was the author adds with grudging admiration, 'an immensely successful arrangement'." These are phrases that come to haunt the mind of the reader as he makes his similarly ambivalent way through these three volumes of drama/theatre history.

Certainly, the immediate impression conveyed by this study, even at the stage of preliminary inspection and before examining the nature of its arguments, is one of careful patterning, of an overriding sense of control. The three volumes, deftly and efficiently take up the tangled skein of the reality of the last hundred years of international drama and sort it out and display it as a neat three-act play, an orderly plating of the separate strands of Realism (with Naturalism), Symbolism (with Surrealism and the Absurd) and Expressionism (with Epic Theatre). Frugally, all three volumes are provided with an identical preface; economically, they all appeal the same, "table of events in the theatre" (save for a differing allocation of bold-faced type). The result is that they are equally marketable either as separate volumes or as a set of three; though had they been amalgamated into one book, and given a printed page rather less light-weight than the one adopted, these "three extended essays" – to use the author's own description – would probably not have amounted in bulk to very much more than one reason-

criteria? No comprehensive answer is of course possible in the compass of a short review. Obviously, though, the various weightings will be different, the inclusions and the exclusions, the allocation of attention. For example, these volumes leave the reader comparatively well-informed about (let us say) William Inge and Elmer Rice, but fail to mention Arthur Schnitzler even by name; Peter Hacks is in there, but Ernst Barlach is passed over in silence; there is some interesting discussion of Snood Wilson, but none of Christopher Fry; critical attention to Wesker's *Roots*, but Ibsen's *John Gabriel Borkman* not even recorded by title; useful information about Lillian Hellman, Carson McCullers, William Saroyan, but nothing about Henry Becque, Ugo Betti, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Wolfgang Borchert, Gabriel D'Annunzio or (skipping quickly, to avoid tedium, to the end of the alphabet) Carl Zuckmayer.

One final small point. Any student of drama who feels he must have missed something when he reads in Styan (volume one, page 37) that Strindberg "even wrote two plays called *Getting Married* . . . as a riposte to *A Doll's House*" may be reassured. *Getting Married*, I and II, are volumes of short stories.

James McFarlane

James McFarlane is professor of European literature at the University of East Anglia.

Turgenev's encounters

Turgenev and England
by Patrick Waddington
Macmillan, £20.00
ISBN 0 333 22072 2
Turgenev and George Sand: an improbable entente
by Patrick Waddington
Macmillan, £12.00
ISBN 0 333 29147 6
Turgenev's Russia: from "Notes of a Hunter" to "Fathers and Sons"
by Victor Ripp
Cornell University Press, £8.75
ISBN 0 8014 1294 3

Turgenev first visited England in July 1847, and Professor Waddington suspects that his motive may have been to spy on Jenny Lind and make certain she was not a serious challenge to Pauline Viardot. He seems to have retained little from this brief visit but a hatred for the British Sunday and an idea that if animals were ever to commit suicide the most likely place for it to happen would be England.

It was nine years before he returned, but from 1856 until very nearly the end of his life he paid frequent visits to this country, even living in London for many months when the Franco-Prussian war made both belligerent countries uncongenial. He made the acquaintance of virtually the entire literary establishment of England, coming into a relationship of particular sympathy with some, such as George Eliot.

What Professor Waddington has done in this fascinating book is to chronicle in unprecedented detail Turgenev's encounters with England and the English. He has examined an abundance of sources, both published and unpublished, and is able to present both points of view – Turgenev's of England and England's of Turgenev. The climax of the mutual relationship came at a time when English Russophobia was also at its height: on Wednesday June 18, 1879 the Russian novelist had conferred upon him in Oxford the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law. He took pride in the fact that his work for the emancipation of the serfs was receiving acknowledgement in this award, and let pass the lack of direct reference to his literary achievements. He was perceived as the figurehead of liberalism in Russia and evidently for that reason deserving some exemption from the general abhorrence of things Russian.

The DCL ceremony was one of a number of particularly vivid occasions, such as Turgenev's sojourn on the Isle of Wight in 1860, when not only did he first conceive *Fathers and*

Sons, but to which Professor Waddington persuades us that *Phanias* and the revised ending of *Rudin* also owe their genesis. Another is the memorial dinner for Sir Walter Scott in Edinburgh in 1871, at which Turgenev was prevailed upon to speak as representative of Russian letters. He made a brief and self-worded speech, but by his own account delivered it with some splendour and in a shrill and feeble voice. It appears that precious few of those attending had much idea who the speaker was, but if the newspaper reporting the occasion misspelled his name and that of a certain unheard-of Pouchkine (Pouchkine, to whom he also referred, he might have taken solace from the fact that they did the same for several of the native orators as well. Beyond the set-piece occasion of this kind there is at least an equal interest in many lesser events, social engagements where Professor Waddington can only surmise what may have passed by way of conversation between Turgenev and his English hosts. His familiarity with the background, both Russian and English, is sufficient to make his conjectures mostly quite convincing, and although one may hope at times that the English did not make of the Oxbridge colleges quite so perpetual a topic of conversation as Professor Waddington suggests, one must also fear that he is probably right.

Then there are meetings which may or may not have taken place, such as the engaging possibility that Turgenev may have met Oscar Wilde on the occasion of his DCL. And for all his encyclopaedic knowledge of English literature there remains the suspicion that Turgenev was not in fact familiar with Jane Austen or Wordsworth, two English writers who have never achieved in Russia a fraction of their reputation at home. Turgenev saw enough of England to be well aware of an underlying positivism and complacent indifference to other cultures which this book makes no attempt to conceal, and against which the attitudes of those who became his friends stood out in sharp contrast. Besides adding an invaluable contribution to Turgenev's biography, therefore, *Turgenev and England* provides, through Turgenev's vision, an amused external view of Victorian England.

Turgenev and George Sand is a slighter volume, chronicling a friendship that blossomed only briefly as a literary relationship. In his apprenticeship as a prose writer Turgenev acknowledged a heavy debt to Sand that did not survive long; but their acquaintance developed in later years into a close personal friendship, and it is to this that the book is mainly devoted. Here Turgenev is found in a more natural element, playing literary and musical games in an elegant country house, in a language with which he was entirely at home. (Good as his English became, it could never match his French.) For that very reason, though, his French hosts had less sense of cultural difference than his English ones, and appear at times to have accepted him as one of themselves to the extent of forgetting he was Russian at all.

Turgenev's Russian attempts to set *Fathers and Sons* against the background of Russian social and intellectual history of the period immediately before and after the Crimea. It is an ambitious undertaking, treading difficult ground on the borders of the two disciplines, and has a good deal to recommend it, particularly from the point of view of the literary insights it offers. Most valuable, perhaps, is the chapter in which the author examines against the background of current events the way in which the characters of *Rudin* pass judgment on social life. In general the transitions from social history to literary analysis and vice versa create methodological problems that are always satisfactorily solved, but it is in the nature of interdisciplinary studies that problems of this kind arise; the book nevertheless deserves recommendation.

John Elsworth

John Elsworth is senior lecturer in the school of modern languages and European history at the University of East Anglia.

BOOKS

SOCIOLOGY

Sense and nonsense

Practice and Progress:
British sociology 1950-1980
edited by Philip Abrams, Rosemary Dean, Janet Finch and Paul Rock
Allen & Unwin, £12.50 and £4.95
ISBN 0 04 301131 4 and 301132 2

The 11 papers in this volume were presented originally at last year's British Sociological Association annual conference, which marked the BSA's thirtieth anniversary. Some of the essays reflect on the history of the BSA, the vicissitudes of the discipline, or changes in intellectual fashion within it. John Barnes, for example, explores the development of the BSA in terms of the theme of *professionalism*.

British sociology has always had champions for a conception of the discipline which would limit professional accreditation, and who sought to direct the BSA towards an exclusionary policy along similar lines to psychology, or towards a role as a learned society. Theirs, however, has always been the losing side. A subject that provides opportunities for formulating an analysis of social structures which exposes the interests they serve, their ideological foundations, and the operation of power in their maintenance, could not have done other than recruit students and young lecturers who would bite any so mildly authoritarian hand that nurtured them. It is essentially the same underlying features of the discipline that account for its inability to establish a tight professional framework for its activities; its disavowal among politicians and a broad spectrum of the laity; and its parlous financial and disciplinary status.

The action of sociology as an enterprise critical of prevailing social order and hierarchy encouraged those of radical inclination to take it up in disproportionate numbers. It encouraged, moreover, that once they had done so, they would offend establishment politicians and other preservers of existing social structures, including the structures of the discipline itself. Radicalism entailed protest as much as study (an understandable offence to the sensibilities of the establishment), for many, a suspicion of all structures of authority. This populist anti-authoritarian drive further impelled a rejection not only of received structures, but also of received wisdom. Only those with impeccable left-wing credentials could be accepted uncritically. Rejection of received wisdom and traditional role models in the transmission of knowledge meant, in turn, a lack of academic standards and a susceptibility to accept instead whatever was most at hand. Sociology has thus a greater tendency than most other disciplines to become a prey to intellectual fashion. Wave after wave of enthusiasts for some new arcane doctrine have flooded into the discipline, believing their particular revelation to provide the absolute foundation for sociological truth; or, together with Marxism or conversational analysis, a good many such enthusiasts have little time for the discipline's tradition of thought, and even less for the current practitioners of any version of it other than their own.

Right totalitarianism encourages a flight from empiricism into theory. If one clearly has the truth, why bother looking at the world to make sure, and, once differing schools cannot agree on what criteria for the truth to use, why bother to render them testable by means of observation?

The permeability of the boundary between sociology and other disciplines has both heightened lay confidence in the "scientific" pretensions of sociologists, and at the same time rendered more attractive – to those who seek the truth through sociology – esoteric rhetorical forms which make some clear, if only linguistic distinction between their ideas and those of people at large.

Of course, while these are among the features of contemporary sociology which have ensured its notoriety, there also persists – at sometimes rather precariously – a sensible core of practitioners, seeking to advance the discipline through cautious generalization based upon a close acquaintance with the evidence and formulated in clear and penetrable English.

This book represents contemporary British sociology and its development in many of the various permutations currently available. Barnes's discussion of the BSA is largely institutional history; Leslie Sklair's account of the relationship between forms of sociology and forms of Marxism, a species of intellectual history. Other papers consider aspects of contemporary sociology: its parasitic relationship with other disciplines; evidence for the existence of "centres of excellence" in sociology; "crisis", "positivism", and "anti-quantitative bias" in sociology today; and the contribution of feminism to reconceptualizing issues of the division of labour. Peter Abell castigates the isolation of theory from attempts to solve empirical problems, and seeks to formulate an approach to sociological generalization through the syllogistic form of reasoning. Cain and Finch – like Abell – seek to "rehabilitate" data, yet they advance a conception of the validity of theory which renders it largely conventional and historically relative. They also produce among the worst prose in the book in their effort to avoid linguistic sexism.

The sociologist emerges from our argument as a highly responsible person. He or she is responsible

for his or her own theory and research practices. He or she alone can ensure that the knowledge he or she produces meets the criteria of validity which will enable it to be used by him/herself and by others within his or her standpoint . . . (page 118).

The prize for linguistic impenetrability should probably be awarded to Michael Phillipson's piece on "Sociological practice and language", however. How curious that those within the sociological fraternity who talk the most about language are usually the worst at using it.

In brief, this book represents some of the virtues of contemporary sociology, but also many of its vices, such as faddishness, pretentiousness, and the sacrifice of style and sometimes sense to doctrinaire commitment. It falls a long way short of providing "precisely the right balance of exposition, analysis and history to help clarify" the thinking of beginning students and lay readers puzzled by sociology's debates, as is alleged by a hopeful publisher on its back cover. The level of debate presupposes far too much knowledge for such an audience. The work is too piecemeal in construction, and the writing too arid in its abstraction. It all bears far too little relationship to a real world peopled by beings other than sociologists. More important still – and perhaps this is the major reason why sociology has had such a bad press in recent times – it reflects the state of current sociology in yet another particular. A very great deal of it is just plain boring.

Roy Wallis

Roy Wallis is professor of sociology and dean of the faculty of economics and social sciences at The Queen's University, Belfast.

Health and wealth

The Health of the Children: a review of research on the place of health in cycles of disadvantage
by Mildred Blaxter
Heinemann Educational, £14.95
ISBN 0 435 82034 6

In 1972 Sir Keith Joseph made a speech to the Pre-School Playgroups Association in which he stated that the persistence of deprivation and disadvantage through several generations of the same family could be explained by factors within the make-up of the individuals concerned rather than by the wider social opportunities and conditions such individuals experienced.

In spite of the furor this led to at the time the importance of the speech is not that anything new was said the argument between individual and structural factors in explaining social behaviour is at the heart of sociology and is enshrined in the study of social policy with the distinction between undeserving and deserving poor – but that as Secretary of State for Health and Social Services, Sir Keith Joseph was able to release funds through the SSRC for a series of "Studies in Deprivation and Disadvantage". This review by Mildred Blaxter of research on the place of health in cycles of disadvantage is the third in the series.

The review is concerned with the nature of continuity and discontinuity in health inequalities between infant and child, child and adult, adult and the new generation, and is intended to complement the studies of inequality in adult health that are already available. The emphasis is on the social epidemiology of disease but with, according to the flyleaf, over 750 references, this is a general orientation rather than an approach rigidly adhered to.

The difficulty with any review of this scope is to achieve a balance between providing basic descriptions of the studies reviewed and the interpretation of them. A further difficulty identified by Blaxter is that commentators on health inequalities have tended to work in isolation, so it is necessary to provide basic information on developments in related disciplines. In attempting to reconcile these demands to describe, interpret and inform, Blaxter presents a useful

and nicely qualified account of different conceptual issues and associated methods. The difficulty for the reader is that she fails to provide her criteria for the inclusion of some studies and not others. The emphasis on cycles of disadvantage seems to provide a rule-of-thumb criterion, but as very few of the studies were concerned with cycles of disadvantage as such it becomes even more imperative to provide a clear framework of selection to enable the reader to evaluate the relevance and validity of the evidence. This drawback, however, is more than compensated for with the achievement of the book.

Blaxter succeeds in arguing that health is a topic with important conceptual and political implications that have been obscured with simple associations often felt to exist between poor health, low income, bad housing, "unhealthy" work, and so on. Short-hand summary terms such as "social class" are shown to be crude, albeit convenient, terms in tracing causation; the emphasis needed to be put much more on specific groups, such as very young mothers, and mothers of high parity in poor circumstances. The danger here is that this can lead to discrete fact-finding exercises devoid of interpretation – a danger that is reflected in some of Blaxter's own suggestions for more detailed research. Nevertheless, Blaxter's review illustrates the impossibility and irrelevance of viewing the place of health in the cycles of disadvantage as a simple dichotomy between individualist and structuralist explanations – the response in some quarters to Sir Keith Joseph's 1972 speech. But the book does more than inform that debate.

As a topic for academic discussion health has not been as fashionable as other areas such as poverty, wealth, education. But the increasing number of government publications on various aspects of health inequalities, and the inclusion of sections on health and illness in A-level syllabuses, indicate that things are changing, and that this is an appropriate time for Blaxter's review to be published. For, in spite of its drawbacks, it is a unique and therefore invaluable resource book, and an excellent introduction to the subject.

John Brown

John Brown is lecturer in social administration at the University of York.

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BOOKS

SOCIOLOGY

Is Weber alive?

For Weber: essays on the sociology of fate
by Bryan S. Turner
Routledge & Kegan Paul, £13.95
ISBN 0 7100 0780 9

At about this time of year one can count on a number of students asking one whether Max Weber was "really a Marxist" and on at least one or two, more perceptively, asking whether he is "still alive". Not the least value of Bryan Turner's tightly-packed book is that he gives us, at least for the time being, fairly authoritative answers to both of those questions. Weber is, for sociologists anyway, irresistibly alive: he developed conceptions of society and of how to understand society which we cannot but take seriously. And the question of his relationship to Marx is one that needs to be answered not in terms of the usual sterile dichotomies but as a matter of what any social analyst of genius could or would have made of capitalist industrialization between 1850 and 1920.

For Weber is a Christmas pudding of a book. You can dig into it and find lump after lump of satisfying fruit: a tart little essay on what Orientalism is really all about; a pungent half chapter on the history of nursing; a crisp review of inheritance laws and sexual anxieties from the eleventh century to the nineteenth; a sharp analysis of the political economy of Iran from the Tobacco Uprising of 1890 to the fall of the Shah. Echoing both Weber's own manner of working and the extraordinary spread of his interests, the book makes its argument by way of constant reference to closely observed and intelligently read historical case studies. Digestion is evidently no problem for Dr Turner; like Weber he has an impressive capacity to absorb and assess the scholarly literature on his chosen topics; his case studies have a solidity and conviction quite rare in books based on other people's books.

The argument in which Dr Turner is most overtly interested, and which in various forms runs through the whole book, has to do with the relationship between Weber and Marxism. That argument is used, however, to pursue a deeper case: the case for acknowledging the significance and wisdom of Weber's sociology as a guide to understanding our own experience in the tools of "late capitalism". And both arguments in turn depend upon the author's underlying and distinctive diagnosis of Weber's sociology as a "sociology of fate". The pivot of the whole exercise is a firm rejection of the prevailing orthodoxy that sees Weber as a sociologist of voluntarism, as espousing "the point-of-view-of-the-subject" in social theory, as the champion of interpretative sociology and of the analysis of action in terms of subjective meaning. Against all that Dr Turner discovers a Weber who was "consistently anti-individualistic", gripped by a demonic sense of the force of structure and process in social life, insistent upon the objective and decisive realities of conflict and coercion, a structural determinist and a thoroughlygoing pessimist.

Most Marxist criticism of Weber has taken the orthodox interpretation for granted. The Weber who is criticised is the voice of a general subjective reductionism in bourgeois thought. However, if the orthodox view collapses, if Weber is seen as the very different person convincingly identified by Bryan Turner, much of the Marxist onslaught collapses too. And if in addition Marxism abandons any sort of simple economic determinism, as most varieties of question of just what sort of distance or closeness there might be between Marxist and Weberian views of the world can be asked in quite new ways. Asking it in the context of

recent debates among "structural" Marxists, in the context of Weber's relationship to the Frankfurt School, and of his own understanding of Weber's writings on religion, social stratification and economic development, Dr Turner is led to discover both a remarkable closeness and an irreducible distance.

The closeness is a matter of recognizing that Weber, Marxists and indeed sociologists generally have come to share a common deterministic perspective in which social reality is seen as possessing a structure and process which have a logic of their own independent of the will and consciousness of individual agents, while at the same time the historical working-out of that logic is ironically warped by the endless contingencies of action. Sociology is history and history is the dialectic of structure and contingency.

The distance lies in the fact that Weber understands the relationship of structure and contingency in history as one that precludes the formulation of general theories of social development but at the same time treats the particular logic pervading the history of capitalism, the logic of rationalization, as in practice inescapable, a fateful prison of disenchantment, while by contrast Marxists continue to seek to generate general laws of development from the erratic process of history while insisting that the logic of capitalism, the mould of the present, can be broken in desired ways by purposeful action. Both positions spring from a shared sense of what it is that social analysis is analysing - the historical structuring of logic and contingency, specifically the powerful structuring of capitalism. Both are self-



Max Weber

contradictory. But they embody contrary self-contradictions.

For Weber is not a book for beginners. It is not an introduction to Weber nor an exposition of his ideas. It is a powerful argumentative work that assumes considerable prior knowledge of the issues and material under discussion. Nor do I think it will be the last word on Weber; some ways Dr Turner's deterministic Weber is as one-sided as the conventional Weber he unmasks.

Yet this is genuinely a book for Weber in the sense that it lifts its subject out of the platitudes of textbook classification and recreates a thinker who had appalling and penetrating things to say about the weight of the world in which we live.

Philip Abrams

Philip Abrams is professor of sociology at the University of Durham.

Relative poverty

Inner City Poverty in Paris and London
by Charles Madge and Peter Willmott
Routledge & Kegan Paul, £8.50
ISBN 0 7100 0819 8

Twenty-five years ago the Institute of Community Studies created a wide new audience for sociological studies of social policy by its imaginative communication of the impact of the welfare state on the lives of working-class families and communities. In marked contrast, this latest report seems intended to be read less for its sociological revelations than as a polemic for a more objective research methodology.

The report's origins lie in Peter Willmott's participation in two initially separate studies which were carried out in the early 1970s in run-down inner city areas of Paris and London, Folle-Méricourt and Stockwell, and which have already been published. The scope and purposes of the two surveys were somewhat different, the districts were not typical of their respective cities, nor were the interview samples representative of their areas. Nevertheless, the authors aim to show that by taking matching samples of households with children, adjusting for family size, prices and so on, and using available city and national data, it is possible to derive new and illuminating comparisons.

On the measures which were available for comparison, Folle-Méricourt and Paris in general come out as more unequal, with North African immigrants at a special disadvantage. However, France's higher children's allowances helped to lift families above the poverty line. By contrast the large proportion of public housing reduced the housing disadvantage for Stockwell residents, including West Indians, although Britain's poorer children's allowances meant that there was more family poverty, especially for one-parent families with no wage earner.

But we knew this; and it is not clear that such local studies of households are the most effective means of assessing the impact of policies and policy-making processes with a broader national scope. It is true that mathematical techniques help to tease out interesting aspects of the distribution and associations of multiple disadvantage. But the effort of

cross-national comparison results in more doubts about the sociological adequacy of some of the basic indicators. For example, the crude cost measures, which are still in use, increasingly important fringe benefits which go largely to the middle class. And the education measure shows West Indians, who tend to stop on longer at school but take inferior courses, as better educated.

More seriously, the pursuit of objective measurement seems to entail other losses. The authors reject the term "deprivation", with its implication that society takes away from the poor, because they feel it is politically loaded, although they do not discuss the implication of that term they use, "disadvantage", but society is a kind of ladder of opportunity. And although in measuring poverty they grudgingly acquiesce in the common use of a standard based on supplementary benefit levels, they are at pains to point out that they think current references to this standard as the official poverty line are misleading. They would have preferred to use a measure based on fixed purchasing power, which they anticipate would need adjusting only every decade or two and which would clearly reveal that absolute poverty is diminishing.

So much for Professor Townsend's attempt to establish a relative definition of poverty which will provide a social and sociological, rather than merely economic, link between society's inequalities and individual deprivation. Gone too are the sociological portraits which in the institute's earlier work brought to life people's relationships and social problems. Although some of the fine writing remains, case studies (in a process reminiscent of adding water to dehydrated food) are reconstituted from questionnaires, illuminated only occasionally by the marginalia provided by some conscientious interviewers.

Of course social research requires measurement, and it would be wrong to criticize this work for failing to achieve something which it never attempts. But in these days when monetarist ideology displays such insensitivity to pressing social needs, it would be a pity if we lost that sociological imagination and power to communicate the quality of people's lives which used to be the institute's hallmark.

Dennis Marsden

Dennis Marsden is reader in sociology at the University of Essex.

BOOKS

SOCIOLOGY

Young offenders

Care and Discretion: social workers' decisions with delinquents
by Howard Parker, Maggie Casburn and David Turnbull
Blackwell, £5.95 and £3.50
ISBN 0 233 97294 3 and 97373 7

Reaching Juvenile Justice: adolescents and state care and control
by Howard Parker, Maggie Casburn and David Turnbull
Blackwell, £12.50 and £5.50
ISBN 0 631 12727 5 and 12745 3

Children out of Court
by F. M. Martin, Sanford J. Fox and Kathleen Murray
Smith Academic Press, £15.00
ISBN 0 7073 0287 0

What should be done with delinquent and deprived children is a question that has troubled the social conscience for several decades. Most efforts and policies which attempted to deal with the problem have proved unsatisfactory and mainly ineffectual. In spite of all the reforms we have made in the child care and educational spheres the number of children in trouble or in need of care in this country has increased. 31 per cent more children were proceeded against in the juvenile courts in 1978 compared with 1970, while in the same period detention centre orders rose by 231 per cent and remissions to Crown Courts for possible borstal training went up by 112 per cent. Existing to popular notions penalties imposed on juveniles have become more severe, and supervision and control orders, which may be regarded as punitive and constructive for children and their families, have actually declined.

Such figures are particularly disquieting as they follow what seemed to be the high-water mark of social optimism, the passing of the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act which we expected to usher in a new and more sympathetic phase of child care. Thereafter, once a "care order" was made magistrates were to hand over decisions about the premature treatment of juveniles to local authority social workers. In future social workers alone would decide whether or not a child should be sent to a residential institution, including the former approved schools now reconstituted as community homes. Similar reforms were afoot in Scotland when the crucial date was 1971 when the far-reaching recommendations of the Kilbrandon Committee were implemented and drastically reduced the whole system of juvenile justice north of the border. Since then the two systems have followed different paths and the evidence so far seems to show that the Scottish model is proving the more effective in certain ways. But both systems have come in for sharp criticism for being "too soft" or for still being largely punitive.

These three books look at distinct parts of the new juvenile justice system and throw valuable light on its intricacies and obscurities. *Care and Discretion* is based on a study of 70 children who were subjects of care orders in Inner London during a three month period in 1978-79. What happened to these children from local authority care is described. The 68 social workers interviewed in an attempt to understand the nature of their decisions. Problematic issues emerging tend to type their cases in which on any course of action are explored in the study and several points are explored. There seemed to be the tendency of an offence and the seriousness of an offence and the social workers tended to seek care orders as a last resort rather than as a general plan of action, and to work on judgments of a pragmatic kind, the product

of ideological viewpoints and moral assessment rather than of professional expertise. So much for the ambitious theories which the helping profession officially claims to follow.

Parker, Casburn and Turnbull studied the work of two Merseyside juvenile courts, one in the city, the other in the country. They too found an uneasy tension between liberal and punitive attitudes in evidence. They followed the progress of 100 boys and girls through the two courts and noted their treatment at the hands of the police, social workers and court officials. The adolescents were then interviewed and so were their parents. The research thus had a three-dimensional base and was well-conceived and opened up some hitherto unfamiliar territory. The results, however, in the main were not surprising. The researchers noted that the two courts treated offenders very differently - which is really what they might have expected since even sets of magistrates sitting in the same court seldom deal out justice in the same way or in the same degree. Again not surprisingly they found that the youngsters and their parents had very negative views about the police. Nor were they always satisfied that justice had been done at court level. Officials were often known to collude to bend the rules, sometimes in a child's own best interest but more often than not to facilitate the smooth passage of cases through courts with exceptionally heavy work-loads.

All this is sound and useful information and the families' verbatim comments are always illuminating. But when the authors theorize about their data there is clear indication of political bias. In a final chapter they say some harsh things about court officials and the police. In fact all in any kind of authority are categorized as agents of social control whose main purpose is not to promote justice or the welfare of children but to keep members of the working class in a state of social subordination. This bias is in fact almost admitted on page 16 when the authors tell us that "we had to work very hard with our respondents in terms of questions about social class". Nowhere is it ever suggested that perhaps some of the children did need punishment. All lawbreaking is apparently to be attributed to social inequalities and to the working class. The fact that thousands of people in similar circumstances do not break the law is simply ignored by these authors.

It is a relief to turn to a thorough objective study of the Scottish juvenile justice system by Professor Martin and his colleagues in Edinburgh. In Scotland juvenile courts have been replaced by hearing panels largely made up of layfolk who, in the presence of the child and its parents, decide what shall be done. The hearings are held in an informal atmosphere and designed to be clearly understood by everyone present. The researchers studied the work of panels throughout the whole country and in all 301 hearings were analysed and 141 interviews carried out.

The general picture is of a very humane and child-centred institution striving to cope with many and varied problems. It seems that as a result of the informal setting of the hearing children emerge without too acute sense of their own guilt and the vast majority of the panel members take a non-punitive attitude towards the children. It is with extreme reluctance that they ever recommend the removal of a child from its home and its admission to a residential institution. Another important finding which serves to put the Merseyside study in its proper perspective is that "the scales are not weighted against children of low socio-economic class or those in single-parent families." This does not mean that the panels' decisions are always correct or truly individualized but it does indicate that the Scottish system often succeeds where the English system does not, and that those dealing with delinquents south of the border have much to learn from the Scottish reforms and perhaps to emulate.

John B. Mays

John B. Mays was until recently Eleanor Rathbone professor of sociology at the University of Liverpool.

Fuel for sceptical fires

Social Work and Social Control
by Peter R. Day
Tavistock, £9.00 and £4.50
ISBN 0 422 77520 7 and 77530 4

Professor Peter Townsend was recently reported as saying that social work education is in need of a radical shake-up (*THES*, September 18). I don't disagree with that: even sociology departments can benefit from the effects of external provocation occasionally. But his claim that social work practice is still dominated by a Freudian emphasis on individualism is so clearly refuted by any close observation of a local authority area office where a social and family maintenance operation prevails that, for a short time, I was almost inclined to enter into argument with him.

A book like Peter Day's, however, helps one to understand how people like Townsend are tempted beyond endurance into the denigration of social work. *Social Work and Social Control* contributes little but verbiage to the literature, and although it isn't a traditional case-work text, there are plenty of phrases to fuel the fires of sociological scepticism: Day talks, for example, of "emotional pain connected with not-knowing, uncertainty and self-hate" and speculates that an office supervisor might assume that a junior's "nonconformity to agency policy is due to unconscious motives".

The writing isn't so much outmoded as pragmatically lacking any sense of direction. How can any author talk about the problems of power and politics, ideology and influence in the world of welfare, and end up with a book that contributes little or nothing to our understanding of these crucial matters? Day shows that it can be done without much difficulty.

The three main threads that go into the weave are an empirical study of offenders and their probation officers in which their respective attitudes towards social work practice are dutifully recorded and a few case examples thrown in; a steady canter through recent literature, reviewed for the most part uncritically and not in any obviously helpful sequence; and some tentative speculations reflecting the author's interest in social psychology. The whole, though, leaves the reader with no sense of unity achieved.

There can be two justifications for a secondary text of this kind. Either it should make it easy for the student reader to get quick and orderly access to other authors, or (indeed, preferably, and) it should incorporate original analysis of current research and writing, thus enabling the author to take the subject forward. Day achieves neither of these objectives, and it is, in particular, difficult to see beyond his hesitant style of making incontrovertible but insignificant statements: "I think that . . . there is a tension which is unavoidable in being a social worker, although some social workers would disagree. It is possible to adopt different stances in looking at the problems involved [in distinguishing between consensus and conflict] and it seems to be that most social workers find various ways of dealing with them". Yes, but . . . Despite using some research data, Day's failure in this text derives primarily from the fact that his writing is not close enough to social reality; his analysis of the social worker's daily tightrope walk among the deviant and the disadvantaged fails, as, for entirely different reasons, does Townsend's predictable assault - to recognize agents in the state welfare system operating on the margins of justice, protection and residual care.

The book has an attractive title but little else to commend it.

Martin Davies

Martin Davies is professor of social work at the University of East Anglia.

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